

564

SEVERAL
TRACTS

WRITTEN BY

S^r MATTHEW HALE, K^t

Sometime Lord Chief Justice of

ENGLAND:

VIZ,

- I. A Discourse of Religion on Three Heads.
 1. The Ends and Uses of it, and the Errors of Men touching it.
 2. The Life of Religion, and Superadditions to it.
 3. The Superstructions upon it, and Animosities about it.
- II. A Treatise touching Provision for the Poor.
- III. A Letter to his Children, Advising them how to behave themselves in their Speech.
- IV. A Letter to one of his Sons, after his Recovery from the Small-Pox.

LONDON, Printed by J. P. for W. Shewsbury
at the Bible in Duke-Lane: 1681.

BRARY

SEVEN
TRACTS

WRITTEN BY

SWIFT

TO THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

R. 17. 17.

LS64

H163

S

11823

A

DISCOURSE OF RELIGION.

CHAP. I.

*The Ends and Uses of it, and the Errors
of Men touching it.*

THE Religion is the greatest Improvement, Advantage, and Privilege of Humane Nature; and that which gives it the noblest and highest Pre-eminence above other visible Creatures.

We may observe in many Brute Beasts and Birds admirable Instincts, Dexterities, and Sagacities; and in some of them some dark resemblances of Reason, or Ratiocination: But Religion is so appropriate to the Humane Nature, that there are scarce any sort of Men, but have some Religion: Nor do the most subtle or sagacious Brutes afford any signs thereof, as communicated to their Natures.

It is one of the chiefest Mercies and Blessings that Almighty God hath afforded to the Children of Men, and that which signally manifests his Providential Care towards and over them, that in all Ages and among all Nations he hath given to them *some Means and Helps* to discover unto them, though in different Degrees, some principal Sentiments of true Religion: 1. By the secret Characters, and Impressions, and Structures thereof in their Minds and Consciences. 2. By his Glorious and admirable Works, commonly called the *Works of Nature*. 3. By signal Providences, and Providential Regiment of the World. 4. By raising up Men in all Ages of great Wisdom, Observation, and Learning, which did instruct the more ignorant in this great Concernment, the Rudiments of Natural Religion. 5. By Traditionary Transmission of many important Truths and Directions of Life, from Ancestors to their Posterity, and others: Though in process of time evil Customs and evil Men did in a great measure impair and corrupt the Sentiments and Practices of Men, notwithstanding these helps. Therefore the same Mercy and Goodness of God, for the preservation and propagation of the true Religion, was pleased to substitute a more fixed and permanent means: namely, the *Holy Scriptures*, or *Divine Revelations*, committed to Writing in the Books of the Old and New Testament. Though the Religion delivered in both Testaments, be in substance the same; yet the true Religion was more fully, and plainly, and distinctly delivered by Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament; together also with some additional Instructions for the better preservation and propagation thereof to Mankind, and divers additional Evidences to prove and manifest the truth of this Religion, to procure its belief

belief and acceptation : As the *Birth*, *Miracles*, *Death*, *Resurrection*, and *Ascension* of Christ Jesus, the great Reformer of the *Jewish*, and great Institutor of the Christian Religion, so called from Christ that taught and asserted it. The Christian Religion is the most perfect Rule of our Duty to God, our selves, and others; and was design'd principally for these Great Ends.

1. To restore to the Glorious God, the Honour, Duty, and Obedience of his Creature, Man; teaching him to Know, to Glorify and Serve his Creator, to be thankful to him, to submit to his Will, to obey his Law and Command, to be thankful for his Mercies, to acknowledge him in all his ways, to call upon him, to Worship him, to depend upon him, to walk sincerely in his sight, to admire and adore his Greatness and Goodness in all his works, especially in the great work of the Redemption of Mankind by his Son Christ Jesus.

2. To enable Man to attain everlasting Happiness, the perpetual Vision of the Glorious God, and to fit and prepare him to be a partaker of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light and Glory.

3. To compose and settle Mankind in such a decent and becoming rectitude, order, and deportment in this World, as may be suitable to the Existence of a Reasonable Nature, and the Good of Mankind: Which consists principally in a double relation: 1. To a *Man's self*, *Sobriety*. 2. To *others*, which consists in those two great Habits or Dispositions beneficent to Mankind, viz. *Righteousness* or *Justice*, and *Charity* or *Love* and *Benevolence*.

These three Great Ends are succinctly delivered, 2 *Ti.* 11, 12. For the Grace of God, that bringeth Salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live

Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present World. Here we have these three Ends of Christian Religion. 1. *Godliness*, or our Duty to God. 2. *Salvation*, or our own everlasting Happiness. 3. *Sobriety, Righteousness*, which also includeth *Charity*, a part of Evangelical Righteousness.

And because Christian Religion was intended and instituted for the good of Man-kind, whether Poor or Rich, Learned or Unlearned, Simple or Prudent, Wise or Weak, it was fitted with such *plain, easie, and evident* Directions, both for things to be *known*, and things to be *done*, in order to the attainment of the End for which it was design'd, that might be understood by any Capacity, that had the ordinary and common use of Reason or Humane Understanding, and by the common assistance of the Divine Grace might be practised by them.

The *Credenda*, or things to be known or believed, as simply necessary to those Ends, are but few, and intelligible, briefly delivered in that Summary of Christian Religion, usually called the *Apostles Creed*.

The *Agenda*, or things to be *done* or *forborn*, are those few and excellent Precepts, delivered by Christ and his Apostles, in that *little Book* of the *New Testament*, and yet even the tenth part of that little Book will contain all the Precepts of Christian Duty and Obedience contained in that Book: And in brief the *Baptismal Covenant*, as it is contained in the Liturgy, and Explanation thereof in the Church Catechism used among us, together with the Precepts of the Decalogue, contain in effect a Summary or brief Epitome of our Christian Duty.

And

And certainly it was necessary and becoming the Wisdom of the most Wise God, that that Religion and Doctrine, which equally concerned Men of all Kinds and Capacities, should be accordingly accommodated, as might be useful for all. If the Doctrine or Precepts of Christian Religion should have been delivered in over sublime or seraphical expressions, in high Rhetorical Raptures, in intricate and subtle Phrases or Style, or if it should have been surcharged with multitude of particulars, it would have been like a Sealed Book, to the far greatest part of Mankind, who yet were equally concerned in the Business and End of Religion, with the greatest Philosophers and Clerks in the World.

Upon what hath been said, we may therefore Conclude,

1. That there is not, nor indeed may not be any great difficulty in the attaining of a *true saving Knowledge* of Christian Religion.

2. That the Duties of Christian Religion are not of so vast an Extent, but the Knowledge of them may be also attained by an Ordinary Capacity *willing to Learn*.

3. That Considering that God Almighty is never wanting with his Grace to Assist those that sincerely endeavour and Desire to Obey him and Serve him, it is not so Difficult a Business to perform an Evangelical Obedience to the Precepts of the Gospel, I say an *Evangelical Obedience*, though not a *Perfect Obedience*; an Obedience that is *Sincere*, though many times *Weak*, and failings, which nevertheless are forgiven, and their Sincere though Imperfect Obedience accepted by Almighty God through the Merits and Intercession of Christ, and our own

Humiliation and sincere Repentance for our failings.

And, 4. That when all is done, in *this belief* and *this Obedience* consists our *Christian Religion*. This is the *One thing necessary*, the *Magnum Oportet*, which is of highest Concernment and greatest Importance to Mankind.

But now if we do but look about us in the World, and observe and consider the Matters, wherein Men for the *most part* do place *Religion*, we shall find quite another kind of Rate and Nature of Religion than what Christ Instituted or intended, and yet all veiled and shrowded under the Name of *Christian Religion*; and greater weight and stress laid upon them than upon the *True, Real, grand Imports* of Christian Religion.

I. I shall begin with the Subtilties of great Scholars, Schoolmen, and Scholastick Divines. These have turned Christian Religion into a most Curious and difficult Speculation; and that which was designed by Christ Jesus as a plain Direction to every Capacity, to be a Guide to a Righteous, Holy, and Sober Life here, and to attain Everlasting Life hereafter, they have [made] a meer exercise of Wit, and a Piece of greater subtilty than the abstrusest Philosophy or Metaphylicks. And this they have done principally these ways:

1. By *Disputes* about Questions, that as they are not in themselves *Necessary* to be known, so they are in their own Nature Impossible for Humane Understandings to determine: As for instance; many, if not all, the Points controverted between the *Arminians* and *Calvinists*, as touching the manner of the *Decrees of God*, what kind of *Influence* he hath upon the *Wills of Men*. The manner of the
Divine

Divine Knowledge of things Future, Contingent, or Possible. The Resistability or Irresistability of Divine Grace. The Nature of Eternity, and Infinity, and Indivisibility. The manner of the Existence of the Three Persons in the Unity of Essence. The Nature of Angels and Spirits; the Manner and Degrees, and Method of their knowledge of things; their several Ranks and Orders; and infinite more Speculations and Disputes of things that do not in their own Nature fall under the discovery of Humane Understanding, by the ordinary Course of Ratiocination, and are impossible to be known further than they are distinctly revealed by Almighty God, and as it were industriously kept Secret by Almighty God, because they are not of use to Mankind to be known. It is far more possible for a Child of three years Old to have a true Conception of the most abstruse Points in Philosophy, or in the Mystical Reasons of State or Politick Government of a Kingdom, than for the Wisest man that ever was, without Revelation from God, to have any tollerable Conception or Notion of things of this Nature with any tollerable Certainty or Evidence.

2. Again there are other Points disputed which are of a lower allay, and yet not to be distinctly known without more clear Revelation than we yet have of it, nor yet of any Necessity for us distinctly to know: As for instance, Concerning the Nature and Manner of Transmission of Original Sin; How far the sins of immediate or remote Parents affect their Posterity with Guilt or Punishment; The Origination of the Humane Soul; How far the Efficacy of the Sacrifice of Christ was intentionally for all men; Concerning the Means of Communication thereof to Infants, Idiots, and the invincible Ignorant; What is the real Consequence of

Baptism of Infants, or its Omission; How far the Will of Man is Operative to his Conversion, or Perseverance; Wherein the formal Nature of Justification Consists; How far forth Faith singly is sufficient for it, without Sanctification and Habitual Holiness at last, and how far forth the Sincere Love of God by a person invincibly ignorant of many or most Points of Christian Religion is sufficient thereunto; Concerning the Estate of the separate Soul before the last Judgment, and how far it enjoys the Beatific Vision before the Resurrection.

Disputes touching these and the like difficult Questions, have blown up mens Fancies with Speculations, instead of filling their Hearts with the true and genuine Effects of Christian Religion.

It is true, that Physicians and Naturalists do and may make Inquiries into the Method and Progress of Generation, and Digestion, and Sanguification, and the motions of the Chyle, the Blood, the Humours: For, 1. They have means of access to the discovery thereof by Dissection and Observation. And, 2. It is of some use to them in their Science, and the Exercise thereof. But when all is done, a man of a sound Constitution digests his Meat, and his Blood Circulates, and his several Vessels and Intrails perform their Offices, though he know not distinctly the Methods of their Motions and Operations. But these Speculations above-mention'd, in Points of Divinity, as they are not possible to be distinctly determined with any certainty, so they are of little use to be known.

If the heart be seasoned with the true knowledge of the things that are revealed, and with the Life of the Christian Religion, and the love of God, It will be effectual enough to order his Life, and bring

of Religion.

bring him to everlasting Happiness, though he be not, like an exquisite Anatomist, acquainted with a distinct Comprehension or Knowledge of the several difficult Inquiries of this Nature. Believe what is required by the Word of God to be believed, and do your Duty, as by that Word is directed; so that the Life of Religion, and the Love of God be ever set on foot in the Soul, and there nourished, and commit your self to the Faithfulness and Goodness of God, and this will be effectual to the great End of Religion, though all these Disputes be laid aside.

3. Again, A Third mischief of *Scholasticks*, is in relation to *Practicks*: 1. Some *Casualistical Divines* have so distinguished concerning Religious External Duties, that they have left little Practical Religion or Morality in the World, and by their subtil curious Distinctions, have made almost every thing Lawful, and with the *Pharisees*, in the time of our Saviour, have made void the Laws of God, (and of Man also) by their Traditions and Distinctions: So that Religion towards God, and all Righteousness and Sobriety, is so thin and narrow, and subtil, that by their Doctrine of *Probability*, and *Casualistical Distinctions*, all the Bones thereof are loosed. It would be too long to give Instances in particular: The late Velitations in *France* between some of the Popish Priests and Jesuites furnish the World with instances enough of this kind.

II. The Second Instance is this, *The turning of the greatest part of Religion into Politick Contrivances, for attaining or upholding Power, Wealth, or Interest.*

There

There have been Instances many in this kind among Secular Princes and States. This was the act of *Jeroboam* to set up Idolatrous Religion in *Samarita*, for preventing a return of the Ten Tribes to the House of *David*. And we may observe it in most of the Religion Established by Heathenish Princes, which was so ordered to accommodate their Interest, though to the extreme corrupting of Natural Religion.

But there is not so eminent an Instance thereof in the whole World, as that of the *Ecclesiastical State of the Church of Rome*, who have corrupted, as much as in them lies, the most pure and innocent Religion that ever the World knew, namely, the Christian Religion, by distorting it to Ends of *Wealth and Power*, appendicating to it certain new *Doctrines and Practices* meerly to those Ends. And not only so, but have laid the greatest weight of Religion in the Observation of these *Politick Appendicaments*; so that a Man that either questions or not observes these *Politick Additaments*, runs as severe a Censure and Danger among them, as he that denies the most unquestionable Principles of Christian Religion. Such are their *Doctrines of the Popes Supremacy, the Popes Infallibility, the necessity to Salvation to be of the Romish Church; the Adoration of Images, Saints departed, and Angels; the Veneration of Reliques; the Doctrine of Purgatory, Indulgences; and the Church Treasury of redundant Merits; the Doctrine and Practice of Dispensations and Indulgences; their Canonization of Saints; their Pilgrimages, numerous Ceremonies, Theatrical Spectacles; their Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and divers other Superadditions and Appendications to Christian Religion, which any person, not captivated*
by

by them, may with half an Eye perceive to be invented and continued meerly for the support of the Grandeur of an Universal Monarchy, which they miscall *The Church*, and for the amassing of *Wealth and Power* for the support of it, as might most easily be evinced by the particular Examination of all those Politick Appendixes.

And yet let any man observe it, he shall find as great fervour for the upholding of these Doctrines and Practices, and as great a *jealousie* of the least breach made upon them, as if the whole Concern of Christian Religion, and the Salvation of Souls lay in their Belief and Observance.

III. The third Instance is in relation to the *Forms of Church Government and Ceremonies*. That Ecclesiastical Government is necessary for the preservation of Religion, is evident to any reasonable and considerate man: And that the *Episcopal Government* constituted in *England*, is a most excellent Form of Ecclesiastical Government, and exceeds all other Forms of Ecclesiastical Government, may be easily evinced; and that it is the best adapted to the Civil Government in this Kingdom, is visible to any intelligent person: And yet I do not think that the Essence of Christian Religion Consists in *this* or any other particular Form of Government. It is a great help to the preservation of it in its Purity and Unity, and may be well called *Sepimentum Religionis Christianæ*, as the Jews call their Oral Traditions *Sepimentum Legis*, the Fence of the Law. But a man may be a good and excellent Christian under *this* or any other Form of Ecclesiastical Government, nay in such places where possibly there is no settled Form of Ecclesiastical Government established.

But

But if we observe many persons in the World, we shall find some so highly devoted to *this or that particular Form of Government*, as if all the weight of Christian Religion lay in it: Though the wise and sober sort of Conformists know and profess this, yet there be some rash people that will presently Un-church all the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas which are not under *Episcopal Government*. That if they see a man, otherwise of *Orthodox Principles*, of a *Pious and Religious Life*, yet if scrupling some Points of *Ecclesiastical Government*, though peaceable, they will esteem him little better than a *Heathen or Publican*, a *Schismatick*, *Heretick*, and what not: On the other side, if they see a man of great fervour in asserting the *Ecclesiastical Government*, observant of *External Ceremonies*, though otherwise of a *loose and dissolute life*, yet they will be ready to applaud him with the stile of a *Son of the Church*, and upon that account over-look the Miscarriages of his Life, as if the Essence and Life of Christian Religion lay in the bare asserting of the Form of Ecclesiastical Government.

On the other side, there is as great an Extremity of the other hand: There are many indiscreet persons, as well Divines as others, that having either by their *Education*, or by *Conversation* with Dissenters, or possibly to gain a Party, taken upon them the Patronage or Asserting of some other Form of Church-Government, either *Presbyterian* or *Independant*, or something fram'd by their own invention, presently cry down the Established Government of the Church, as *Antichristian* or *Papist*, and cry up that which they have thus espoused as the only true Christian Regiment instituted by Christ; and presently among them, and their Followers,

Followers, this is made the *discriminative Mark* of a True Christian. If they see a man conformable to the *Established Government*, tho' he be pious, sober, and truly Religious, yet they despise and neglect him, *condemn* him as a Formalist, and without the Power of Godliness: But if a man will but *revile* the *Established Government*, and be bold against it, cry it down, and try up the New Institution into which they are lifted, tho' the man be Covetous, Uncharitable, Hard-hearted, Proud, Impetuous, and possibly otherwise Loose in his Conversation, yet such a man shall be cherished, applauded, and cryed up for a Saint, a Precious man, and Zealous for the Truth.

And although *Decent Ceremonies*, that are for the Preservation of the Dignity of Religion, and to keep due Order and Regularity, are not Essential Parts of Christianity, nor were ever so esteemed by wise and sober men, and yet are of use and convenience in the Church, nevertheless, we may easily observe among men the same Extremes as are before noted: Some placing the whole weight of Religion in their *strict Observance*, and making them the principal, if not the only *Badge* of a Son of the Church, *bating* and *despising* those that scruple any thing in them, or that do not come up in every punctilio to their Observance, though they be otherwise sound in the Principles of Faith, pious and strict in their lives, just and honest to all men, and sober, temperate and blameless.

On the other side, there be a sort of men that place the greatest stress and discriminating Point of Christian Religion in *opposing* and *decrying* all *Instituted Ceremonies*, though Innocent, Decent, and without any the least touch of Superstition in them, yet
these

these must be detried as Popish; Antichristian, destructive of Christian Liberty, and the Party that with most boldness and vehemence declaims against them, is valued by them as a most precious man, a man of Zeal and Courage, and needs little else to justify and magnifie him with his Party.

On the other side, though a man be of an holy and conscientious Life, sound in Principles, sober, blameless, peaceable; yet if he observe these blameless Ceremonies, though with great moderation and Charity to Dissenters, he shall be slighted and undervalued, esteemed a Formalist, a Time-server, or at best, a man wanting Courage, Zeal; Luke-warm, Timorous, and wanting the Power of Godliness. Such wild and wrong Measures do men of Extremes on all hands take of the true Essence and Ends of Christianity.

IV. Again, even among Professors of the Protestant Religion, there are divers disputed and Controverted Points; as between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, especially touching the *Universality* of the *Redemption* by Christ, *Perseverance* and *Falling from Grace*; and almost every day there arise certain *new Opinions*, some of *greater* importance, but very commonly of *small* and inconsiderable moment; and these are taken up by the several Parties possibly agreeing in the same Fundamentals of Christian Religion. And some times they are entertained by a Party of men, because their Pastors are of that Opinion, or seem to be so; though often they are taken up, or instilled into a Party, to make a discriminative Mark between Persons of several Congregations. And then it is wonderful to see with what fervour each Party maintains his Tenent, and as great weight is laid upon it, as if the whole stress of

of Christian Religion, and the Salvation of the Souls of men lay upon it; when God knows they are not of any moment in it.

Such was the old Controversie between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches about *Easter-day*, and ancienter than that, in the Apostles times, about *Eating of meats offered to Idols*, and among us at this day touching the five *Arminian Questions*. And yet we shall see men as fervent and zealous about them, as censorious of Dissenters from them, as fond of those of the same Opinion with them, as if all the Articles of the Christian Faith were immediately concerned in them; when all the while they are not of any moment to the Salvation of men, nor of any concernment to the Christian Religion, or the Ends thereof, but are only Artifices imposed upon men to hold up Parties, or to keep up some Man or Parties Reputation; imaginations which men are fond of, because they are their own, at least theirs whom they have in great Veneration or Esteem.

V. Again, the fond Mistakes of men in this kind, are observable in very slight and trivial matters, which yet are entertained with a kind of Religious Veneration, when they serve to hold up Parties, or as discriminations of their Professions. Among the professed *Monks* and *Fryars* they have certain Habits assigned to several Orders, and as well anciently as now have several kinds of *Tonsures* of their Heads, which they observe with great severity; and place much Religion in them.

And even among the various Sects, or Perswasions among those that least abhor Popery, yet we shall find some such fond things upon which they lay a great weight of their Religion: Sometimes in very Looks and composing of their Countenance; some-

sometimes in the manner or Tone of Expressions; sometimes in *affected Phrases*; sometimes in *Gestures*; sometimes in *Habits and Dresses*; sometimes in use of *Meats and Drinks* of one kind or other. I shall give some few Instances.

You shall have some that place a great point of Religion in forbearing the *Eating of Flesh upon Fast days*, or in the time of *Lent*, but yet indulge themselves oftentimes in the eating of the choicest Fish; and the most costly Diet of other Meats: Others again think they must needs go as far on the other Extreme, Chusing those Seasons for Feasting upon Flesh, and think it acceptable to God, because it runs counter to the other Extreme.

Again, a time there was when it was thought that *Long Hair* was unbecoming Professors of Christianity, and upon that account some did wear their *Hair* short, even to extremity. But about the beginning of the late Wars, many took up, as they thought, a more elevated way of Christianity, and as a Badge thereof wore their *Hair* extreme Long.

The Conformists usually wear *Gowns* or *Canonical Coats*: Many of the Nonconformists by way of discrimination use other *Habits*.

The *former* officiate, as the *Canons* require them, in *Surplices*, and sometimes with *Hoods*, and some are so taken with it, that they think the Offices want an Essential Part when performed without it; some of the *latter* think the solemn Ordinances are profaned by it, and rendred Superstitious.

But among all the differing Perswasions among us, there are none that give a man more ample Evidence of Mistakes of this Nature, than those called *Quakers*, who place a great part of their

Re-

Religion in keeping on their Hats, in using the words *Thou* and *Thou*, in stiling the Months and Days of the Week not according to the usual Appellation, but the first, or second month, or day, in certain Habits and Postures unlike other men; in Silent Devotions at their Publick Meetings, in *reveling* and *crying down* the Established Ministry, Churches, Sacraments, *Lords-day*, and all manner of Forms; whether commanded or used by others; in refusing to take an Oath when Lawfully called thereunto; and some such other singularities. Take away but these, and the like affected Superadditions, the men are as other men, some indeed very sober, honest, just and plain-hearted men, and found in most, if not all the important Doctrines and Practices of Christianity; others (as it happens in all Professions) Subtle, Covetous, Uncharitable, Tumultuous, Ignorant, Proud, Despisers of others, Slanderers, and yet as long as they conform to their *Sect* in these impertinent or unwarrantable singularities, they please themselves with the Stile of the *People of God*, and are for the most part esteemed such by those of that *Sect*.

By this little Survey, we may easily take an Estimate of the Mistakes of Mankind, and even among Christians, touching the Mistakes in point of Christianity and Christian Religion, and how common it is to misplace the *Name* of Christian Religion and the *Nature* of it, and attribute it to such things as in truth have nothing to do with it, but many times are directly contrary to it.

And yet even in these Impertinencies many men place the greatest moment of their Religion, and have as great and many times a greater zeal and fervour for them, than for the weighty Points

and Duties of Christianity, and most of the business of many men Consists in Velitations and Defences and Invectives about them; the Pulpits and the Press is engaged about them. Love, and Charity, and even common Humanity, and mutual Conversation between Man and Man, Church and Church, Party and Party, is broken by the mutual collisions and animosities concerning them. So that (the Lord be merciful to us and forgive us) there is as little Love, and as great distance and animosity between many of the Dissenting Parties among Protestants touching these matters, as there is between Papists and Protestants, or between Christians and Infidels. And by this means the true Life of Christian Religion, and that which was the great End of its Institution, and the true genuine and natural Effect of it upon the heart and soul, and course of Life, is lost or neglected by them that profess it, or disparaged among those that either have not entertained it, or at least entertained it as they do the Customs of the Country wherein they are educated. These men, when they see so much Religion placed by Professors of Christianity in these things, which every intelligent man values but as Forms, or Inventions, or Modes, or Artifices, and yet as great weight laid upon them, as great fervour and animosity used for, or against, them, as almost for any Points of Christian Religion, they are presently apt to censure and throw off all Religion, and reckon all of the same make.

But when all is done, true Christian Religion is a thing of another kind of make, and is of another kind of Efficacy, and directed unto, and effective of a nobler End, than those things about which, as above is said, men so much contend, and that
makes

makes so great a bustle and noise in the World. As the *Credenda* are but few and plain, so the *Facienda*, or things to be done, are such as do truly ennoble and advance the Humane Nature, and bring it to its due habitude, both to God and Man.

It teacheth and tutors the soul to a high reverence and veneration of Almighty God, a sincere and upright walking as in the presence of the Invisible, All-seeing God: It makes a man truly to love, to honour, to obey him, and therefore careful to know what his will is; it renders the heart highly thankful to him, both as his Creator, Redeemer, and Benefactor: It makes a man entirely to depend upon him, to seek to him for guidance, and direction, and protection; to submit to his Will with all Patience, and Resignation of Soul: It gives the Law not only to his Words and Actions, but to his very Thoughts and Purposes, that he dares not entertain a very thought unbecoming the sight and Presence of that God to whom all our thoughts are legible: It teacheth and bringeth a man to such a deportment both of external and internal sobriety, as may be decent in the presence of God and all his holy Angels: It crusheth and Casts down all Pride and Haughtiness both in a mans Heart and Carriage, and gives him an humble frame of Soul and Life, both in the sight of God and Men: It regulates and governs the Passions of the Mind, and brings them into due moderation and frame: It gives a man a right estimate of this present World, and sets his heart and hopes above it, so that he never loves it more than it deserves: It makes the Wealth and Glory of this World, high places, and great Perferments, but

of a low and little value to him; so that he is neither covetous nor ambitious, nor over-sollicitous concerning the advantages of it: It brings a man to that frame that Righteousness, Justice, Honesty, and Fidelity is as it were part of his Nature; he can sooner dye than commit or purpose that which is unjust, dishonest, or unworthy a good man: It makes him value the Love of God and peace of Conscience above all the Wealth and Honours in the World, and be very vigilant to keep it inviolably: Though he be under a due apprehension of the Love of God to him, yet it keeps him humble and watchful, and free from all presumption, so that he dares not under a vain confidence of the Indulgence, and Mercy, and Favour of God, turn aside to commit or purpose even the least injury to man, he performs all his Duties to God in sincerity, and integrity, and constancy; and while he lives on Earth, yet his Conversation, his Hopes, his Treasure, and the flower of his Expectation is in Heaven, and he entirely endeavours to Walk suitably to such a Hope: In sum, it restores the Image of God unto the Soul in Righteousness and true Holiness.


*Compositum jus, fasque animi sanctosque recessus
mentis, & incoctum generoso pectus honesto.*

These, and the like to these, are the ends, design and Effect of True Christian Religion, truly received and digested in the Soul. And certainly any man that duly considereth, will find that they are of another kind of Nature and Value, than those sublime Speculations, Politick Constitutions, Forms or not Forms, affected Singularities, upon which

which many lay the weight of Religion and for and touching which there is so much Contention and Animosity in the World. So that methinks men in this regard are like to a Company of foolish Boys, who when the Nut is broken, run scrambling after the pieces of the Shell, and in the mean while the Kernel is neglected and lost.

Now touching the Reasons or Causes of these Misapprehensions touching Religion, they are various: Some deserve compassion, and others are more or less excusable, according to their several kinds: 1. Some persons truly Conscientious and zealous of any thing that they judge to be displeasing to God, as not agreeable to his Will, and observing the many Corruptions, that the *Romish* Church have brought into the Worship of God, are very suspicious of any thing that may look, as they think, that way; and therefore, though they are otherwise men of sound and Orthodox Principles, and of a truly righteous, sober, and pious Life, yet perchance are transported somewhat too far in scrupling or opposing some Ceremonies or Forms; And possibly their Education and Conversation with men of such Perswasions have confirmed them in it, so that they do not oppose out of a frowardness or peevishness of mind, or out of Pride, or a Spirit of Opposition, but in the sincerity and simplicity of their hearts, and out of a tenderness for the Honour of God. These, though they are or may be mistaken in their Perswasions, yet certainly *deserve Compassion, Tenderness, yea and Love also*, much rather than *Severity or Contempt*.

2. Others again, observing that certain Modes and Forms, and the rigorous Observations of them, are the common road for *attaining Preferments* or Favours of great Persons, upon that account exercise a marvellous servour of mind for them, and a vigorous opposition of all that come not up to them in every punctilio, that they may thereby be taken notice of, and imployed as useful and fit and vigorous Assertors and Instruments for this purpose.

3. Many times *Gain* and *Profit* is the End and Design of many Practices and Positions appendicated to Christian Religion, as is before observed in the *Romish Church*; and it is easily observable that Interest, Profit, and Temporal Advantage have a strong byass upon Mens Affections, and are dearer to them than the Truth of Religion, and carry men more vigorously in their upholding and maintenance, than Religion it self doth: And because the pretence of zeal for Religion carries a fair Plausibility with all men, therefore those very things that are but *Engines of Gain and Profit* are  Christened with the specious Name of Religion.

It was the making of Silver Shrines for *Diana*, the Art whereby the Artificers got their living, that made the Out-cry, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*.

4. Again, it is very certain that Mankind hath a huge *kindness* and *partiality* for matters of their *own Invention*, and set a greater rate upon them, than upon other matters handed over to them by others: And hence it comes to pass that a new Fancy or Opinion, a new Form of Worship, Discipline, or Government, that any man hath invented or studied out, is to such a man ordinarily of greater value

value and moment than it deserves; and shall be maintained with greater zeal, Fervour and Animosity, than Points of greater truth and moment, as if the great moment and weight of Religion and Christianity lay in it, which is in truth nothing else but the Effect of Self-love and Self-conceit.

5. Again, though by Nature man be a sociable Creature, yet there is in most men a certain Itch of Pride, which makes them affect a *Discrimination* from others, and to become a kind of *separated Party* more refined than the rest of the same Common Profession.

I do remember in the beginning of our late Troubles, the only Party that visibly appeared, were some that desired some Reformation in Church-matters: And when that Party had obtained, under the Name of the *Presbyterian Party*, in a very little while there arose a more sublime Party of men, called the Independent or Congregational men, which much despised the former, as not arrived to a just Measure of Reformation. Shortly after that there arose a kind of *Lay Party*, which as much undervalued the Independent, and indeed the Ministry in general.

After that there arose a Party discriminating itself from all the former, viz. the *Quakers*. These various Parties were as so many Subdivisions and Rectifications of what went before.

Now the means of holding up this *Discrimination* of Parties are certain *select Opinions, Practices, or Modes*, which are like the *Badges* or *Colours* that give each Party its Denomination, Distinction, and Discrimination: And consequently these Discriminative Badges have as great a rate set upon them as each Sect sets upon it self; and therefore

must be upheld under the very Notion of the life of Religion, and must be maintained with the greatest fervour imaginable; for otherwise the Distinction of the Sects themselves would fall to the ground, and become contemptible both among themselves and others, because otherwise there would appear very little and inconsiderable reason, upon trifling or small reasons, to Separate and Divide from others, and to Un-Church and Un-Christian them that are not of their Company or Society.

C H A P. II.

The life of Religion, and Superadditions to it.

THE Truth and Spirit of Religion comes in a narrow compass, though the Effect and Operation thereof are large and diffusive. *Solomon* comprehended it in a few words, *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole Duty of Man*: The soul and life of Religion is the Fear of God, which is the Principle of Obedience; but Obedience to his Commands, which is an act or exercise of that life, is various, according to the variety of the Commands of God: If I take a Kernel of an Acorn, the Principle of life lies in it: The thing it self is but small, but the Vegetable Principle that lies in it takes up a less room than the Kernel it self, little more than the quantity of a small Pins head, as is easie to be observed by Experiment, but the exercise of that Spark of life is large and comprehensive in its Operation; it produceth a great Tree, and in that Tree the Sap,
the

the Body, the Bark, the Limbs, the Leaves, the Fruit; and so it is with the Principle of True Religion, the Principle it self lies in a narrow compass, but the activity and energy of it is diffusive and various.

This Principle hath not only Productions that naturally flow from it, but where it is it ferments and assimilates, and gives a kind of Tincture even to other Actions that do not in their own Nature follow from it, as the Nature and Civil Actions of our Lives under the former was our Lords Parable of a Grain of Mustard, under the latter of his Comparison of Leven, just as we see in other things of Nature: Take a little Red Wine, and drop it into a Vessel of Water, it gives a new Tincture to the Water; or take a grain of Salt and put it into fresh Liqueur, it doth communicate it self to the next adjacent part of the Liqueur, and that again to the next, until the whole be fermented: So that small and little vital Principle of the Fear of God doth gradually and yet suddenly assimilate the actions of our life flowing from another Principle. It rectifies and moderates our Affections, and Passions, and Appetites, it gives Truth to our Speech, Sobriety to our Senses, Humility to our Parts, and the like.

Religion is best in its *Simplicity* and *Purity*, but difficult to be retained so, without Superstructions and Accessions; and those do commonly in time *Stifle and Choke* the *Simplicity* of Religion, unless much Care and Circumspection be used: The Contemperations are so *many* and so *cumberfom*, that Religion loseth its *Nature*, or is *strangled* by them: Just as a man that hath some Excellent Simple Cordial or Spirit, and puts in Musk in it to make it smell sweet, and Honey to make it taste pleasant,
and

and it may be *Cantharides* to make it look glorious. Indeed by the Infusions he hath given it a very *fine Smell*, and *Tast*, and *Colour*, but yet he hath so *clogg'd* it, and *sophisticated* it with Superadditions, that it may be he hath altered the Nature, and destroyed the Virtue of it.

The Superadditions and Superstructions in Point of Religion are very *many*, and from very many and various tempers in men that add them. As for Instance,

1. There is one common Superaddition that naturally all men are apt to bring into it, *viz.* that it may *Gratifie the Sense*; for in as much as the most powerful and immediate influence upon us comes from and through our Senses, and that Spiritual and internal apprehensions have not so strong or constant an Impression upon us, they seem things at a distance, flat, and the Soul is weary of bearing it self upon them; men are apt to dress up Religion so as it may be grateful to the *Sense*; *Make us Gods that may go before us*: And this is the chief original of *Idolatry*, and also of *Superstition*.

2. There are other Superadditions that come even from the accidental inclinations of men to some special matter which they value and love; and that they carry over into Religion; and many times mingle with it. As for the purpose, take a man greatly admiring *natural Philosophy*, he will be apt to mingle and qualifie Religion with *Philosophical Notions*. Many of those things of *Aristotle* that are harshly and dishonourably asserted concerning the Deity, are from his tenacious adhering to certain Philosophical Positions that he had fixed upon.

Behmen, who was a great Chymist, resolves almost all Religion in Chymistry, and frames his Conceptions of Religion suitable and conformable to Chymical Notions.

Socinus

Socinus and his followers, being great Masters of Reason, and deeply learned in matters of *Morality*, mingle almost all Religion with it; and form Religion purely to the Model and Platform of it.

Many great *Physicians* that have much observed the Constitutions of Mans Body, have figured to themselves Notions of the Soul conformable to the Results of their Observations in the Body.

And as thus in these sorts of men, so again men of *Metaphysical* and *Notional Brains* and Education, as the Schoolmen, they have conformed Religion and their Notions concerning it to *Metaphysics*: And indeed have made that which is and ought to be the common Principle for the actuating of all men, yea even of the meanest Capacities, to be a meer Collection of Subtilties, far more abstruse than the most intricate and sublimated Humane Learning whatsoever.

Again, take a *Polititian*, or *States-man*, and he shall most easily conform Religion to *State-Policy*, and make it indeed a most excellent and incomparable Engine for it, and nothing else.

And if we narrowly look upon the Method and System of Religion as it is formed by the *Romish Hierarchy*, it is a most exquisite piece of *Humane Policy*, and every thing therein suited with most exquisite Art and Prudence for the support of the Grandure and Interest of that State: This hath mingled with the Christian Religion the *Popes Infallibility* and *Supremacy*, his Power of *Pardoning*, and *Dispensing* his *Keys of Heaven and Hell*, his *Purgatory* and *Indulgences*, and *Images*, and *Adorations* of them, his *Reliques*, and *Pilgrimages*, and *Canonising* of *Saints*, and a thousand such kind of stuff most incomparably fitted to mens Passions and Affections; and

and so to support that most artificial and methodical Fabrick of the Popish State: For indeed it is no other.

And if we look into other Kingdoms and Places, we shall easily find, that Religion is so stated and ordered as may best conduce to the peace, order, wealth, and amplitude of every Kingdom; for wise Politicians, finding that Religion hath a great impression on mens minds, and therefore if it be not managed by the Policy of State, may prove an unruly Business, if it be contempered with Mixture prejudicial to the State, and that it may be a most excellent Engine if it can be managed and actuated for the Benefit of the State, do add to it much of their own, that it may be managed upon occasion, and they dress up Religion with *State Policy*, whereby in truth it becomes nothing else but a meer piece of *Humane Policy*, under the Name of Religion.

And on the other side, those either *politick* or *discontented* Spirits, that would put a Kingdom into Blood and Confusion, do mingle *Discontents*, and *Fancies*, and *Imaginations*, *Suspitions* and *Frowardness* with Religion, and call this confused Mixture of Phancies and Passions, *Religion*: And manage and brandish this Weapon with mighty disadvantage to that State which they oppose.

For it is most apparent, that as nothing hath so great an impulsion upon men, as that which comes under the apprehension of *Religion*, in as much as it concerns the greatest good, even their everlasting Souls and Happiness; so nothing is of so universal Concernment as this, and therefore like to attract the most Followers; for every man hath not an *Estate* to care for; but every man hath a *Soul* to care for; and hence it is that scarce any great Contest

test between Princes hath happened in these latter years, nor scarce any Commotion in a State, but Religion is owned on all sides; and God, and his Cause, and his Church, owned on all hands, and therefore still the scramble is for Religion, and who shall keep the Opinion of Religion most firm to them, and therefore they on all hands infuse into the thing they call Religion those things that may most probably and politickly hold to their Party.

Again, in Contest among Clergymen, every one Trims and Orders Religion in that Drefs that may most make it *their own*, and secure it to *themselves*.

Take the *Papish Clergymen*: Hold what you will, if you hold not the *Supremacy* and *Vicariot* of the Pope, all the rest of your Religion is not worth a rush.

Come to the *Reformed Episcopal Clergy*: As to the *Popes Supremacy* they disclaim it: But if you acknowledge not *Episcopal Government*; if you swear not *Canonical Obedience* to your *Ordinary*, if you submit not to the *Liturgy*, and *Ceremonies*, and *Vestments*, and *Musick* used in the Church, you are at best a *Schismatick*.

Again, come to the *Presbyterian Clergy*, they will tell you *Episcopal Government* is *Romish* and *Superstitious*, and their *Ceremonies* and *Usages* *Anti-christian Usurpations*; but if you mean to be of a warrantable Religion, you must submit to the *Presbyterian Government* as truly *Apostolical*.

Come to the *Independent*, he declaims against both the former, and tells you that the true Conformity to *Apostolical Order* is in the *Congregational way*.

Take the *Anabaptist*, and he tells you all the former are vain and irreligious, unless you will be *rebaptized* and *listed* in their Church.

Again,

Again, in Points of *Doctrine*, as well as Discipline, it is most plain that Tenents are professed or decryed for *distinction of Parties*: Witness the Contest between the *Arminian* Party and the *Calvinistical* Party, which are only used as Methods on either side, to attract Profelites and distinguish Parties: And in these and the like distinctions of Parties and Professions the Superstructions and Additions are in a manner incorporated and grafted into Religion, and in effect give the only Denomination to it, according to the various Interests and Affections of Parties; when in truth, the main business of these and the like Additions and Superstructions, are but Policies to distinguish, and fortifie, and increase Parties.

3. There are some *Superadditions* to Religion, that though I do not think they are to be *condemned*, yet are carefully to be *distinguished* from the true and natural *Life of Religion*; and so long as they are kept under that apprehension, they may, if *prudently applied and managed*, do good. But if either they are *imprudently instituted, imprudently applied, or inconsiderately over-valued*, as if they were Religion, they may and many times do harm; and such are decent and inoffensive Forms in the External Worship of God appointed by the Civil Magistrate, by the advice of those that are deservedly eminent in the Church for their Piety, Learning, and Prudence. And there seems to be very good Reason for it.

1. Because if every man should be left to himself, there would Confusion ensue; because no man knew anothers Mind, or Rule of his external Deportment.

2. All men have not that equal Prudence to judge what were fit to be used: The Magistrates are best to make choice of those persons that are fittest to advise, and their Recommendations would be of greatest authority with others.

3: It

3: It is most certain, that Man being composed of Soul and Body, cannot so regularly and well fix himself to his Duty, without some justifiable help to his Devotion; such are vocal Prayers, Kneeling, and other Gestures proper for the matter of Worship which he intends.

And this may be one Reason, why the Lord, though he strictly forbid all Idolatry and Superstition, and Heathenish Practice to the Jews, yet did appoint Sacrifices, Priests, a glorious Tabernacle, and the Ark, which was not only a diversion from the *Egyptian* Idolatry which they had seen, but also a help to their natural infirmity for the excitation of their Devotion.

And although our Lord Jesus came to *abrogate* even that *Indulgence*, and foretold that those that *Worshipped the Father*, should *Worship him in Spirit and in Truth*, under the Gospel, yet it is certain that the immediate Apostles of Christ did set certain orderly Observances in the Church for decencies sake; and it was justly allowable: As concerning the order of the exercise of their Supernatural Gifts, Concerning Womens speaking in the Church, Concerning Mens being covered in the Church, and Women veiled, Concerning the manner and order of receiving the Sacrament, and the like.

But as there be Reasons for it, so there be Cautions to be used in it.

1. That they be not too *numerous*; for their Multitude will rather oppress than secure Religion.

2. That in their Natures they be not *Superstitions*, but keep as much distance from it as well may be; otherwise they will be in Religion, as the dead Fly in the Apothecaries Oyntment.

3. That

3. That they be clean and decent, not too full of *Pomp or Ostentation*: Ceremonies should be used as we use a Glass, rather to *preserve* the Oyl, than to *adorn* it. Too much Pomp causeth Jealousies even in good men, of a degeneration either to Jewish Ceremonies or Popish Vanities.

4. That though such are not to be *rejected* because they are *Ancient*, so if they become *Unseasonable*, they are not to be *held* meerly because they are *Ancient*. It is with Ceremonies as with some other things that are fit to be changed when they become unuseful or offensive, as the *Love-Feasts*, *Extreme Unction*, and some other things, possibly practised, and fit enough, in the Primitive times: Many Ceremonies were at first invented and practised, to win over unconverted Heathens; to encourage weak Christians, especially the *Jews*, who were not easily to be drawn from their Legal Ceremonies: But when People become a Knowing People, that see beyond those Ceremonies, and understand when, and why, and how they came in, then it were Prudence to *dispense* with, or *change* them.

5. That they be not urged with too much rigour or severity upon such as conscientiously refuse them. Charity to a weak Brother in things indifferent in their own Nature, is then to be exercised, when my Brother is offended therewith, or never: And if it be said it is his duty to submit to the Church, and not the Church to him; I do think that answer will not serve in this case; for surely though a Child owes a Duty to a Father, yet his neglect thereof, especially if it be upon a conscientious account, will not excuse the neglect of a Fathers Duty to his Child: The Apostle professed he would
abstain

abstain from things lawful rather than offend his weak Brother.

6. And especially that we be careful to remember that *Religion is another thing from these Ceremonies*. These are of *use i. e.* for Ornament; they are the *Dressings* and the *Trimmings* of Religion at the best, but the fear of God is of a higher extraction.

It is a pitiful thing to see men run upon this mistake, especially in these latter times; one placing all his Religion in holding the *Pope to be Christ's Vicar*, another placing Religion in this, to hold *no Papist can be saved*: One holding all Religion to consist, in holding *Episcopacy to be jure divino*; another by holding *Presbytery to be jure divino*; another in crying up *Congregational Government*; another in *Anabaptism*; one in placing all Religion in the strict observation of all *Ceremonies*; another in a strict *refusal* of all: One holding a great part of Religion in putting off the *Hat*, and bowing at the *Name of Jesus*; another judging a man an *idolater* for it: And a third placing his Religion in putting off his *Hat* to none; and so like a company of Boys that blow Bubbles out of a *Wall-nut shell*, every one runs after his bubble, and calls it *Religion*; and every one measures the Religion or Irreligion of another, by their agreeing or dissenting with them in these or the like matters; and at best, while we scramble and rangle about the pieces of the *Shell*, the *Kernel* is either lost, or gotten by some that do not prize any of their *Contests*.

Believe it, Religion is quite another thing from all these Matters: He that fears the Lord of Heaven and Earth, walks humbly before him, thankfully lays hold of the Message of Redemption by Christ

Jesus, strives to express his thankfulness by the Sincerity of his Obedience, is sorry with all his soul when he comes short of his Duty, walks watchfully in the denial of himself, and holds no confederacy with any Lust or known Sin; if he falls in the least measure is restless till he hath made his Peace by true Repentance, is true in his Promise, just in his Actions, Charitable to the Poor, sincere in his Devotions, that will not deliberately dishonour God, though with the greatest security of impunity; that hath his hope in Heaven, and his Conversation in Heaven, that dare not do an unjust Act though never so much to his advantage, and all this because he sees him that is invisible, and fears him because he loves him, fears him as well for his goodness, as his greatness; such a man, whether he be an *Episcopal*, or a *Presbyterian*, or an *Independant*, or an *Anabaptist*; whether he wears a *Surplice*, or wears none, whether he *bears Organs*, or *bears none*, whether he *Kneels* at the *Communion*, or for Conscience sake *stands* or *sits*; he hath the *Life of Religion* in him, and that Life acts in him, and will conform his soul to the Image of his Saviour, and walk along with him to Eternity, notwithstanding his *Practise* or *Non-practise* of these *Indifferents*.

On the other side, if a man *fears not the Eternal* God, dares commit any sin with presumption, can drink excessively, swear vainly or falsely, commit Adultery, Lye, Cozen, Cheat, break his Promises, live loosely, though he practise every Ceremony never so curiously, or as stubbornly oppose them; though he cry down Bishops, or cry down Presbytery; though he be re-baptized every day, or though he disclaim against it as Heresie; though
 ho

he Fast all the *Lent*, or Feasts out of pretence of avoiding Superstition, yet notwithstanding these, and a thousand more external Conformities, or zealous Oppositions of them, he wants the Life of Religion.

CHAP. III.

Of the Christian Religion, the Superstrutions upon it, and Animosities about them.

THE Christian Religion and Doctrine was by the Goodness and Wisdom of God designed to be the common means and method to bring Mankind to their Chief End, namely, to know, and to serve, and obey, and glorify, and everlastingly to enjoy Almighty God the Chiefest Good.

And to that end it was given out with all the Plainness and Perspicuity, with all Evidence and certainty; a Doctrine and Religion containing Precepts of all Holiness and Purity, of all Righteousness and Honesty, of all Longanimity, Benignity, and Gentleness, Sweetness, Meekness, and Charity; of all Moderation and Patience, of all Sobriety and Temperance; in brief, it is a Religion that is admirably and sufficiently constituted to make a man, what indeed he should be, Pious towards God, Just and Beneficent towards Men, and temperate in himself, fitted for a life of Piety, Honesty, Justice, and Goodness, and Happiness hereafter. Such is the Christian Religion, and such the men must be that are truly conformable to it; and if any man professing Christianity, be not such a man, it

is because he comes so much short of his due Conformity to Christian Religion; and the most excellent Doctrine and Precepts thereof.

The Profession of this Religion is that which is, and for many Ages hath been, commonly made by a very considerable part of the known World, as the only true Religion given to the World by Almighty God, through his Son Jesus Christ, wherein and whereby they may expect everlasting Salvation.

But yet together with this Christian Religion, the Professors thereof have in several Ages and Places chosen to themselves various *adventitious accidental Superstructions, Additions, Opinions, Modes, and Practices*, which they have as it were incorporated into the Christian Religion by them professed, or appendicated unto it.

And these Superstructions or Appendixes of Christian Religion have been introduced and entertained by various Means, and by various Designs, and to various Ends: Some by the *Authority of great Names*; some by *insensible gradations or long customs*, some by a *supposed congruity or incongruity*; some for *Order or Decency*: Some for *Discrimination of Parties*; some for *Political Ends*, appearing in themselves, or secretly carryed on; some upon *emergent occasions*; either continuing or now ceasing; some by Civil, some by *Ecclesiastical Sanctions*; some by *traditional Observations*, either continued, or interrupted and revived; some for *Ornament*; some for *Use*; some as supposed necessary *consequents* upon the Christian Doctrine, some to be, *quasi septa & munimenta doctrina & religionis Evangelica*, as the Jewish Traditions were supposed to be the *Sepimenta Legis*; some for one end, and some

some for another: And although these are not truly and essentially parts of the Christian Religion, yet as the humours in the body are some good, some noxious, some innocent, though they are no part of the true vital Blood, yet they mingle with it, and run along in it; so these Superstructions, and Occasions, and Additions, have in various Ages, Successions, and Places, mingled with the true radical vital Doctrine and Religion of Christ, in mens Opinions, and Practices, and Professions.

And yet it is visible to any man that will but attentively observe the Courses of men professing Christian Religion, that the greatest fervour and animosity of the Professors of Christian Religion is not so much with respect to the substantials of Christian Religion, either in things to be believed or practised, as touching these *Additions* and *Superstructions*; some as fervently contending for them, as if the life of Christianity consisted in them, some as bitterly and severely contesting against them, as if the life and soul of Christian Religion were not possibly consisting with them.

And by these means these unhappy Consequences follow.

1. That whereas the main of Christian Religion consists in the true belief of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, and the Practice of those Christian Virtues that he left unto his Disciples and Followers, both by his Example and Precept, namely love of God, Holiness and Purity of life, Humility and Lowliness of mind, Patience, Meekness, Gentleness, Charity, a low and easie Value of the World, Contentation of Mind, submission to the Will of God, Dependance upon him, Resignation unto him, and other excellent Evangelical Virtues, that per-

fect and rectifie the Soul, and fit it for an humble Communion with Almighty God in this life, and a blessed fruition of his Presence in the life to come; the Christian Religion is not so much placed in these, as in an entire *Conformity to Modes and Circumstances*, or an extream Aversion from them. And according to the various Interests or Inclinations of Parties, those are made the *Magnalia* of Christian Religion, and such as give the only Character or Discriminative Indication of the Christian Religion.

2. And consequently all the greatest part of that stress and fervour of mind, which should be employed in those great weighty Substantials of Christianity, runs out and spends it self in those little Collaterals, and Superstructions, and Additaments, some placing the greatest earnestness and intention, contention of mind to have them, and some placing the intension and fervour of their mind to be without them, not unlike those old Contentions between the *Eastern and Western* Churches touching the time of the Paschal Observation, one Party excommunicating the other for their dissent, as if the whole weight and stress of the Christian Religion lay in those little Additaments.

3. And hereupon there arise Schisms, Factions, and personal Animosities, Discrimination of Parties, Centorinousness, and studied estrangings of Professors of Christianity, oftentimes one Party declining those Practices which are good and commendable in the other, to keep their distances the more irreconcilable, and each Party espousing some odd Discriminating Habits, Modes; and sometimes also by Opinions in matters of Religion, that may estrange and discriminate them each from the other;
and

and these Opinions though of little moment or consequence (it may be whether true or false) are advanced up into little less than Articles of Faith, for the sake of this Discrimination, when possibly they are of little moment whether they be assented unto or not, of less certainty, and have little or no influence or concern in the Substance of Christian Doctrine.

4. And hereupon it oftentimes comes to pass, that not only the common Bond of Charity and Christian Love is broken between the Professors of the same substantials in Christianity, but there is most ordinarily much more *Severity*, and *Persecution*, and *Implacableness*, and *Irreconcilableness*, more endeavours to undermine, and supplant, and disgrace Dissenters, more scorns, and vilifying, and reproach, and insolence one towards another in their vicissitudes of advantage, than there is between Professors of Christianity, and men of the most loose and profane lives, between Orthodox and Hereticks, nay between Christians and Turks or Infidels many times.

5. And from this there ariseth a most fruitful and a most inevitable increase of Atheism and contempt of Religion, in many of the Spectators of this Game among Professors of the Christian Religion, and that upon these two Accounts: Principally, because when they hear each Party declare (as they must if they declare truth) in their Sermons and Writings, that the Doctrine of Christianity enjoyns *Mutual Love*, *Condescension*, *Charity*, *Gentleness*, *Meekness*, and yet so little practised by Dissenting Parties, men are apt to conclude, that either these persons do not believe what they pretend to preach and publish, or that

the Doctrine of Christianity was a Notion and Speculation, and never intended as a necessary Rule of Practice, since the greatest Pretenders to the Religion of Christ practise so little of it.

2. Because when men see that those little Superstructions and Additions are by the one side *prosecuted*, and on the other side *decry'd*, with as much animosity, fervour and severities, as the most weighty and important Truths and Precepts of Evangelical Faith and Obedience; Spectators and By-standers think that they are all of the same value; and when they see that these things which every sober considerate man must needs conclude little, and of no moment, are rated at so great a value by the contesting Parties of each side, Truths then are doubted of in relation to these: It makes men call in question great matters; when they see such small things pursued or declined with no less Fervour and Animosity than if they were of the greatest.

And considering these unhappy Consequences of these Fervours of minds touching these small Appendixes and Superstructions, even more than about, or concerning the very weighty things of the Gospel, I have endeavour'd to search out the Reason how this strong Distemper comes to pass; and there seems to be these Causes thereof.

1. Ordinarily a man is more fond of, and concerned for something that is *his own*, than for that which is of *God*; as we are transported with a love to our *selves*, so we are transported with a love and admiration of what is *our own*: And hence it is that the weightier and more important Duties injoy'd by Christ, partake less of our zeal, or courage, or intention of mind, than our *own little Fancies* and *Inventions*.

2. *Pride,*

2. *Pride, Credit, and Reputation*, are commonly engaged in either Party in the things contested, when they are once contested; and these are violent and pressing Interests and Motions.

3. The *Plainest Truth* and *Purity* of Religion is a thing that seldom pleaseth and sweeth to the Curiosity and Appetite of Men; they are always fond of something Annexed or Appendicated to Religion to make it pleasing to their Appetite. A certain Sawce that may entertain their Fancy, after which it may run, and wherein it may please it self. And these Sawces to Religion are various, and variously pleasing, according to the various Inclinations of Men: Most ordinarily the Fancies of Men affect some things Splendid and Sensible to be Superadded to Religion; the *Israelites* would needs have gods that might go before them; and in compliance with this Humour, most of the Strange Modes and Gesticulations among the Heathens, and most of the Superstitions, Ceremonies and Rites among the Papists, were invented.

Again, sometimes the Humour of the People runs in the other Extreme, either they will have nothing of Form or Order; or all such Forms or Orders as are extremely opposite to what others use, and place their delight and complacency therein: And by this means oftentimes it comes to pass, that men are carried with greater earnestness and vehemence after those *Placenta*, the entertainments of their fancies, than to the true Substance of Religion it self.

4. Oftentimes it comes to pass that there are two very *jealous Concerns*, and impatient of any Corrivall, that are engaged each against other in these different and dissenting Practices, relating
to

to Collaterals in Religion: On the one side, Power and Authority is very tender of its own Interest, and jealous of a Competitor or Rival: On the other side, Conscience and Persuasion either of the Necessity or Unlawfulness of any thing, is very jealous, or fearful, and suspicious of any thing that might injure it: And whether the Conscience be mistaken or not, yet so long as its Persuasion, that is entertained *sub ratione conscientie*, prevails, this jealousy will still prevail in the mind; and it many times falls out that Authority on the one hand is impatient, or at least jealous of Opposition, and Conscience on the other hand restless and unquiet.

4. And the difficulty is so much the greater, because each seems to derive their obliging Authority from God; the Magistrate recognizing God Almighty as the Fountain, Root, and Foundation of his Power; and the Conscience supposed to be the Vicegerent of God in the Soul.

6. But that which admirably keeps up these differences, is that men on each side, deal not one with another calmly, mildly, or upon the Reasons of the things, or upon a true way of Reasoning, Debating, and Arguing of things, or prudent Considerations that might invite yielding on the one side, or accommodations of the other, but each Party takes in all those Contributions, Assurances, and Advantages, that commonly accompany the worst of Contentions.

For instance, 1. Extremity of Passion and Indignation, 2. Violence and Bitterness of Writings and Speeches, 3. Each Party rendering the other as odious and ridiculous as is possible: 4. Scoffing, jeering, and personal reflections: 5. Artifices and

Deligius

Designs each to catch and undermine the other : 6. An industrious and willing mis-interpretation of each others Words, Writings, and Actions, and raising them to odious Inferences and Consequences, beyond what they were meant, or really and truly bear : 7. Dissingenuous Quotations out of each other, without those ordinary Remedies that might be allowed by comparing of other parts of their Writings.

These and the like Auxillaries are on each part taken into these Velitations between Christians, and in relation to things contended for or against in these Differences, whereas the whole tenour of the Doctrine of Christianity, as it was delivered by Christ and his Apostles, decries nothing more than Anger, Wrath, Malice, Railing, Evil-speaking, Back-biting, Slanders, Reproaches, Names and Epithets or Scorns, Craft, and Subtily ; yet all these black Legions are called, used, and imployed in the management of that Cause, which each Party pretends to be the Cause of Christ ; as if Fiends, and Furies, and Legions of Devils were thought fit Auxillaries on each Party, wherein both pretend the interest of Christ Jesus.

And that this is so, let any man but read those Books which have flown abroad from either Party, he will find it evident in all the Contentions of this nature ; Witness on the one part *Martin Marprelate*, the *Odious Centuries* put out by Mr. *White* in the beginning of the Long Parliament, the frequent Invectives and odious Epithets given to the Liturgy, to the Bishops, Conforming Ministers, and to the Church of *England* it self, as Antichristian, Idolatrous, *Babylonish*, and a thousand such Names and Stiles.

And

And on the other side there have been many that have not been behind hand with bitter Investives, Scornful and mocking Expressions and Appellations, odious Reflections, unnecessary to be repeated. By all which these two things are evident,

1. That these Transports of either side come not from that Spirit which Christ brought with him into the World, and which he commended and left to his Disciples and Followers; namely, a Spirit of Love, of Charity, of Gentleness, Patience, Kindness, and Sweetness of disposition.

2. That if men go about to justify this, because first provoked by the adverse Party, and so justify it by the Law of Taliation, these men do not remember, that as on the one hand the Duty of Christians is Self-denial, Moderation, and Peaceableness; on the other side, that a Spirit of Revenge, an Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth, is as much against the Doctrine of Christ, as any thing in the World.

Therefore certainly it becomes those of either Party either to cashier these black Auxillaries of their Wars, and Contentions of this kind, or otherwise for the sake and honour of Christ and the Christian Religion, plainly declare that he is not concerned in the Contest, but that the Contest is a Contest of Interest and Vain-Glory, of Pride and Ambition, and Reputation, and desire of Victory: Or if they will not declare so much to the World, yet they must give leave to the Spectators to judge of it so.

Now these bitternesses and virulentnesses of either side, have been commonly of two kinds: First, such as reflect, if not altogether, yet most of all, upon the *Persons* of their Adversaries: 2. Or such as reflect

reflect only upon the *Matters* in difference between them; both were bad enough, and such as serve to make the Differences and Breaches wider.

But of late times, I know not by what unhappy Star, there hath prevailed more than formerly, certain *Invectives* that have gone much farther, even to the rendring of *Religion it self*, and *Scripture Expressions* ridiculous, and pieces of raillery; and I could have wished that some late Books, put out under the fashion of *Dialogues*, and some other Books of that kind, had not been too Guilty of this fault.

I do remember when *Ben. Johnson* made his Play of the *Alchymist*, wherein he brings in *Ananias* in derision of the persons then called *Puritans*, with many of their Phrases in use among them, taken out of the *Scriptures*, with a design to render that sort of persons ridiculous, and to gain applause to his wit and fancy. But although those persons were not in very good esteem among the Great Ones and Gallants, yet the Play was disliked, and indeed abhorred, because it seemed to reproach Religion it self, though intended only to render the Puritans ridiculous. That which was uncomely and unseemly in a Poet, who made it his business to make Plays, certainly is much more folsom and unfavoury in another; especially if the Author be a *Clergy-man*, as I suppose he is: For of all men in the World it becomes such *prospicere honori Religionis Christianae*, and not to render it ridiculous and contemptible, by raillery and scurrilous jeasting.

And

And yet I do not find in all *Ben. Johnson's Alchymist* one half of those ridiculous and unseemly repetitions of Scripture Phrases and Expressions, as well as mimical imitations and disdainful mockings of those Persons, and that Party whom he designs to disparage: Scarce a Page but some unhandson mention of the *Spirit*, and *Christ* and *Grace*, and *Saints*, and some Scripture Expressions: And if it shall be said that he doth it but only in exprobatation of such persons as abused or misapplied such expressions, and it is not with intent to reproach the Scripture or those Phrases that are desumed from it, but to shew the boldness and mistakes of them that have misapplied or abused them.

I answer, 1. That these Misapplications and inconsiderate Uses of Scripture-phrases by them, though it be justly reprobable, yet it is far more intollerable in him. Though their mistakes were weak and foolish, yet they were *serious* in those very mistakes; but this man industriously and designedly makes the *Expression* ridiculous and contemptible: 2. Their Abuses of Scriptures and Scripture-phrases will not at all justify the like in him, though in another kind, and to another end; he might have learned to have avoided the folly and inconsiderateness of the others, and not have multiplied it in himself by a worse Method of abuse.

Certainly, who ever he was that made these *Conferences*, I dare say he hath no such pattern of writing from the Apostles or Fathers. The nearest Copy that I know of it, is the *A* — and though he seems a man of Wit and Learning, and possibly would be some body in the World, I dare say they that cherish him in the main of his design are ashamed of his scurrility, and wish it had been spared; and

and so perchance may be when more years have better consideration. The mischiefs that come by this manner of writing are very great and many.

1. First it makes Differences irreconcilable. When Differences Civil or Ecclesiastical in Judgment or Practice happen, gentleness, softness, mildness, and personal respectfulness quiet the Passions and Spirits of the adverse Party, gain upon him, get within him; and when the person is thus won, and over-matched with Sweetness and Kindness, and personal Jealousies and Prejudices removed, Persuasions and Arguments grow prevalent, come with their full weight, are entertained calmly, and considerately, and insensibly gain grounds even upon the judgment: But I yet never knew any man converted by an angry, passionate, railing Adversary, for such kind of behaviour presently raiseth in the Adversary the like passions and prejudice, and makes the Distance greater; and the Passions being engaged in the quarrel, the Judgments of both sides are lost, or blinded, or silenced with the dust and noise of passionate disgladiations; and indeed considering how apparently and evidently such kind of dealing between Dissenters renders compositions almost impossible; and yet observing how much this course of reviling, and opprobrious, and unmanly as well as unchristian Language, is in practice, I thought that it hath been a real design to render each Party odious and irreconcilable to the other, and the hopes of composition desperate: For who can ever expect that any man, or any sort of men, should be drawn over to that Party that shall publicly stile him *brave-sick*, a *fool*, *silly*, *hypocrite*, *fanatick*, and a hundred such scornful Appellations; or that men will be easily drawn to re-

linquish

linquish those Opinions or Perswasions when they must thereby in effect subscribe to such Epithetes and Appellations before all the World; and of all things in the World men can with the least patience bear reflection upon their intellectuals, and are most irreconcilable to them that traduce or abuse them therein.

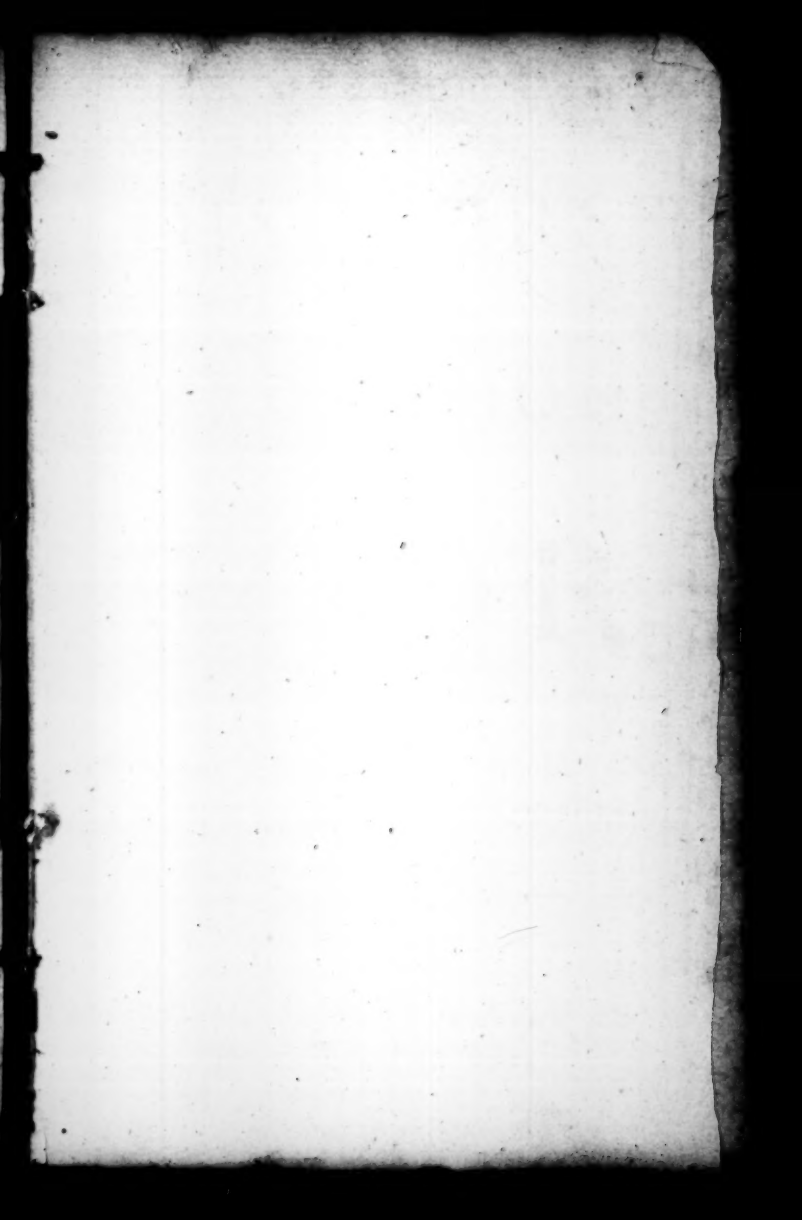
2. It greatly disadvantage the Cause, as well as the Persons of those that use this method amongst sober indifferent Observers; who will be ready to conclude them a parcel of people transported by passions, weak, and prejudicated; and look upon such a Cause as is maintained by railing, scoffing, raillery and unproved Calumnies; as weak, and standing in need of such rudenesses to support and maintain it.

3. It exposeth Religion it self to the derision of Atheists, and confirms them in their Atheism; and gains them too many Profelites; and that principally upon these Reasons; 1. Because they find that Clergy-men do tell them in the Pulpits, that Christ himself and his Apostles condemned railing, scandalous Appellations, as *Raca*, and *Fool*, *Evil-speaking*, *foolish-jeasting*; *Mocking*, *Reviling*; this they tell men, and they tell them truly, and yet these very men that call themselves Ministers of Christ, Messengers of the Gospel of Peace, take that admirable liberty of reproaching, scoffing, and deriding one another in their publick Phamphlets and Discourses, that can scarce be exampled among the most invective Ranks of Persons, whose trade it is to be Satyrical; and render people ridiculous: Nay so far hath this Excellent manage prevail'd among Clergy-men, that their Scoffs and Reproaches are not levelled at the Persons, or Personal Defects of Dissenters, but rather

rather than want supports for their Party, will have ugly slings at Religion it self, at Scripture-expressions; and when men see such a course of Practice among the Preachers and Clergy-men, they are ready to conclude, that surely they believe not themselves what they preach to others; therefore think they have a fair pretence not to believe them.

2. But principally these great Animosities and Transports of dissenting Clergy-men, confirms and promotes Atheism, upon this account, that the things about which this wonderful hate is stricken between these Parties, are such as both Parties agree to be none of the Fundamentals of the Religion professed by both, but Accessaries and Accessions, and such indeed as By-standers think are of very small moment; and yet when men see so much heat and passion, so much fervour and contention, such reproaches and revilings, such *exasperations* of *Authority* on either Party, such mutual Prosecutions one of another, that more could not possibly be done between Dissenters in those points which both agree to be Fundamental, Atheistical spirits are apt to conclude, that probably those points, that both sides supposed to be of greater moment, are *ejusdem farinae*, with those in Contest, since they are not, nor cannot be prosecuted with greater fervour, than these, which all men take to be small and inconsiderable, and that it is Interest, Vainglory, and Applause, or some other Temporal Concern, that gives this Fervour and Zeal in Matters of Religion, more than the true Concerns of it self. The Conclusion therefore is, That men for their own sakes, and for the sake and honour of the Christian Religion, would use more Temperance, Prudence, and Moderation, in Contests about Circumstantial.

1840
1841
1842
1843
1844
1845
1846
1847
1848
1849
1850
1851
1852
1853
1854
1855
1856
1857
1858
1859
1860
1861
1862
1863
1864
1865
1866
1867
1868
1869
1870
1871
1872
1873
1874
1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880
1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
1900



A
DISCOURSE
TOUCHING
PROVISION
FOR THE
POOR.

Written by Sir MATTHEW HALE,
late Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings-Bench*.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Shrowsbery*, at the
Bible in Duke-Lane, 1683.

DISCOUNT

RECEIVED

FOR

PAID TO THE ORDER OF

THE BANK OF AMERICA

NEW YORK

THIS CHECK IS NOT VALID UNLESS IT IS SIGNED BY THE CASHIER OF THE BANK OF AMERICA

THE PREFACE.

A Due care for the Relief of the Poor is an act, 1. of great Piety towards Almighty God, who requires it of us : He hath left the Poor as his Pupils, and the Rich as his Stewards to provide for them : It is one of those great Tributes that he justly requires from the rest of Mankind ; which, because they cannot pay to him, he hath scattered the Poor amongst the rest of Mankind as his Substitutes and Receivers.

2. It is an act of greatest Humanity among men. Mercy and Benignity is due to the very Beasts that serve us, much more to those that are partakers of the same common nature with us.

3. It is an Act of great Civil Prudence and Political Wisdom : for Poverty in it self is apt to Emasculate the minds of men, or at least it makes men tumultuous and unquiet. Where there are many very Poor, the Rich cannot long or safely continue such ; Necessity renders men of Phlegmatick and dull natures stupid and indisciplinable ; And men of more fiery or active constitutions rapacious and desperate.

The Preface.

At this day it seems to me that the English Nation is more deficient in their prudent provision for the Poor than any other cultivated and Christian State; at least that have so many opportunities and advantages to supply them.

In some other Countries a Beggar is a rare sight; Those that are unable to maintain themselves by Age or Impotency are relieved. And those that are able to supply their wants by their Labour are furnished with Employments suitable to their condition.

And by this means there is not only a good and orderly Education and a decent face of the publick; But the more populous the State or Country is, the Richer and the more wealthy it is.

But with us in England for want of a due regulation of things the more Populous we are the Poorer we are; so that, that wherein the Strength and Wealth of a Kingdom consists, renders us the weaker and the poorer.

And which is yet worse, Poor Families which daily multiply in the Kingdom for want of a due order for their Employment in an honest course of life, whereby they may gain subsistence for them and their Children, do unavoidably bring up their Children either in a Trade of Begging or Stealing, or such other Idle course, which again they propagate to their Children, and so there is a successive multiplication of hurtful or at least unprofitable people, neither capable of Discipline nor beneficial Employment.

The Preface.

It is true we have very severe Laws against Begging, the very giver being in some cases subject to a penalty by the Statute of 1. Jac. cap. 17. But it takes little Effect. And indeed as the case stands with us, it is no reason it should: for what man that is of ability can have the conscience to deny an Alms, or to bring a Wanderer to the punishment directed by that Statute, and the Statute of 39 Eliz. when he cannot choose but know that there is not that due course provided, or at least used, that persons necessitous, and able to work may have it; indeed were there a clear means practised for the employing poor persons, it were an uncharitable action to relieve them in a course of Idleness. But when I do not know there is such a Provision, I dare not deny my relief, because I know not whether without it he may be starved with hunger, without his own default.

We have also very severe Laws against Theft, possibly more severe than most other Nations, yea, and than the Offence in it self simply considered deserves; And there is little to be said in the defence of the severity of the Law herein, but the multitude of the Offenders and the design of the Law rather to terrify than to punish, ut metus in omnes, poena in paucos: But it is most apparent that the Law is frustrated of its design therein; for although more suffer at one Sessions at Newgate for Stealing and Breaking up Houses, and Picking of Pockets, and such other

The Preface.

Larcenies out of the protection of Clergy, than suffer in some other Countries for all offences in three years, yet the Jayls are never the Emptier : Necessity, and Poverty, and want of a due Provision for the Employment of Indigent persons, and the custom of a loose and idle life, daily supply with advantage the number of those who are taken off by the Sentence of the Law : and doubtless as the multitude of Poor, and necessitous, and uneducated persons, increase, the multitude of Malefactors will increase, notwithstanding the Examples of Severity.

So that upon the whole account the prudence of prevention, as it is more Christian, so it will be more effectual than the prudence of remedy : The prevention of poverty, idleness, and a loose and disorderly Education, even of poor Children, would do more good to this Kingdom than all the Gibbets, and Cauterizations, and Whipping Posts, and Jayls in this Kingdom, and would render these kinds of Disciplines less necessary and less frequent.

But hitherto I am in generals, which rarely prosper into Action or Conviction : I therefore shall consider principally these things :

- 1. What Provisions there are already settled by the Laws in force for the Relief and Employment of the Poor.*

- 2. Wherein the Defects are, in relation to those Laws or Provisions, and the consequences thereof.*

- 3. What may be thought a convenient Supply of those defects, and the Consequences of such supplies.*

A

A
DISCOURSE
TOUCHING
PROVISION
FOR THE
P O O R.

CHAP. I.

*Touching the Laws at present in force for the
Relief and Imployment of the Poor.*

THe Laws relating to the Poor are of two kinds, viz. 1. Such as concern the relief of the Aged, and Impotent, that are not able by their labour to maintain themselves. 2. Such as concern the imployment and setting of work, of such as are able. And this latter as shall be shewn is the more comprehensive and beneficial charity, although both are necessary and become us,
both

both as men and as Christians; much more touching the former of these, *viz.* the relief of the impotent Poor, the laws of *England* have provided a double remedy. First, by giving great encouragement to voluntary undertakings of good and liberal minds in this kind, 2. by Compulsary means upon all.

Again as touching the former of these, the Statute of 39 *Eliz. Cap. 5.* have given a great encouragement to such as shall Erect Hospitals, Houses of Correction and *Maisons de Dieu*. And the Statutes of 39. *Eliz. Cap. 6.* and 43. *Eliz. Cap. 4.* have taken special care for the due imployment of gifts to charitable uses. And certainly such voluntary Assignations argue an Excellent and Charitable mind in those that shall so voluntarily give; And the Statutes have given a fair Incouragement to the Charities of men in this kind. But this provision doth but little in order to relief: For 1. for the most part such Hospitals extend but to a few aged Persons limited to some particular Town, unless it be in the large Hospitals, in *London*, where there is some provision more Extensive in respect both of number and age, as *St. Thomas* Hospital, *Christ Church* Hospital, and some others. 2. But besides this those are but Voluntary and not Compulsary; although there may be some that may be charitably minded, yet for the most part men are backward in works of Charity; Self love, Covetousness, distrust of the Truth and Providence of God keeps most from overflowing Charity or Building or Endowing Hospitals.

2. Therefore there was a Compulsary laid upon men for the relief of the Poor within their respective Parishes, *viz.* the Statute of 43. *Eliz. Cap. 2.* being the first compulsary Law that I remember of that kind: And indeed it now became necessary to be done by a Compulsary means which before that time was left more

more arbitrary, because the Kingdom became then much more Populous than in former times, and with it the Poor also greatly increased, and besides many of those methods of their voluntary relief was then much abated; which Statute Enables the Church-Wardens and Overseers, &c. to do these things.

1. To take order for setting to work the Children of those whose Parents are not able to maintain their Children.

2. To take order to set those to work as having no means to maintain themselves, use no ordinary trade. But provides not sufficient Compulsaries to make them work.

3. To raise weekly by Taxation a convenient stock of Flax, Hemp, &c. to set the Poor on work: But no means at first, before the return of the Manufacture to pay them wages in express words, but is supplied by the latter general clause. (*And to do and Execute all other things, as well for the disposing of the said Stock, or otherwise concerning the premises as to them shall seem convenient.*)

4. To raise competent sums of Money for the impotent Poor not able to work.

5. Also for the putting of Poor Children Apprentices but no Compulsary for any to receive them.

Among all these Provisions, the 4th concerns the relief of the Poor by Taxation, and Contributes to such as are impotent, the four other particulars concern their Employment, and of such as are able to work, which is the far greater number. And although the relief of the Impotent Poor seems to be a Charity of more immediate Exigence yet the Employment of the Poor is a Charity of greater Extent, and of very great and important Consequence to the publique Wealth, and Peace of the Kingdom as also to the Benefit and Advantage of the Poor.

I therefore come to that second Business relating to the Poor, *viz.* the setting the Poor on work.

The Laws that concern that Business of the *Employment* of the Poor are of two kinds; *viz.* that which contains a Compulsary means of providing work for the Poor, which is the Statute of 43. *Eliz.* And secondly those Laws which are in some kind Compulsary to force persons to work; and these are of two kinds, *viz.*

1. Those that concern Children and the binding of them Apprentices, *viz.* the clause of the Statute 43. *Eliz. Cap. 4.* before mentioned, and the Statute 7. *Jac. Cap. 1.* which makes fair Provision for the raising of Money to bind them, and directs the manner of its Employment. But as before is observed, hath not any sufficient Compulsary for persons to take them, and perchance it might be fit to have some such qualifications in that Compulsary which might not leave it too arbitrary in the Justices of the Peace to compell whom they please, to take whom they please: But this is not the business I drive at, perchance the general Provision which I design may make this at least not so frequently necessary.

2. In reference to Rogues, Vagabonds and Idle and disorderly persons, the Statute 7. *Jac. Cap. 4.* gives power, 1. to the Justices of the Peace to send them to the House of Correction, which they are thereby required to cause to be Erected. 2. Power to the Master of such House of Correction to keep them to work.

But even in this particular there are defects. 1. It is not general for all persons, but at most Idle and disorderly persons. 2. That description is very uncertain in reference to such persons, and leaves the Justices either too great or too little power. 3. For want of a convenient Stock to be raised for such Houses of Correction, and advantageous ways for such work, it
either

either leaves such as are sent without an Employment, or renders their Employment ungrateful in respect of the smallness of the wages, and rather makes People hate Employment as a hell than to Entertain it as a means of comfortable support; which though it may be well enough as a punishment for disorderly persons that refuse to work, yet it is not applicable to those that are only idle, it may be, because they have no work: 4. It is a difficult thing to determine who shall be said an idle Person, it is a reasonable answer to that, they are idle for want of such work as they are able to do, or for want of such wages as might give them a reasonable support; for there is no power given, nor is it reasonable it should, to compel Persons, to set them on work, or to set them on work at convenient wages: 5. And lastly, it is not universal; many Persons are not within that Law which would work if they might: or if they might at reasonable rates, whereby they might live. There is need, therefore of some such provision that might be as ample as the occasion, and without which indeed all the Laws already made are either weak and ineffectual to their Ends, and the generality of the Poor left destitute of a convenient support and provision.

CHAP. II.

Touching the Power by the Law settled for the general Provision for the Poor, and their defects.

UPon the consideration of the Statutes for the Poor, the only Statute that provides universally

fally is that of 43. *Eliz.* which generally makes two Provisions.

1. For the Impotent Poor that are not able to work : And it is true is a good and Effectual Provision for such, if duely Executed. But as I said before, the Plaister is not so large as the sore, there are many poor that are able to work if they had it, and had it at reasonable wages, whereby they might support themselves and their Families, which oftentimes are many. These are not within the Provision of the Law and if they come for Exhibitions, they are denied, or at least have but very small, and such as cannot support them and their Families. And indeed if they should have sufficient Exhibition for the support of them and their Families, the Parishes where they live were not able to supply them in a proportion answerable to their necessities, or answerable to that supply which a full Employment would afford them ; For instance, a Poor Man and his Wife though able to work, may have four Children, two of them possibly able to work, two not able : The Father and the Mother are not able to maintain themselves and their Family in Meat, Drink, Cloathing and House rent under ten Shillings *per Week*, and so much they might probable get if imployed ; This amounts to 26 l. *per Annum*, if there were forty such Families in a great Parish, and they lived upon this exhibition collected by rates, it would arise to above 800 l. *per Annum*, which in many Parishes exceeds the yearly value of their Lands or Rents, yet when these persons are kept on work thus much must be gotten by them, and without a supply Equivalent to this they must live by Begging, or Stealing, or Starve: therefore the second Provision is,

2. For those Poor that are able to work, and in reference

ference to them it gives power to raise Stocks by rating the Parishoners, and setting the Poor on work.

The defects of this Provision are,

1. In the Execution of the Law already made ; for let any man look over most of the Populous Parishes in *England*, indeed there are rates made for the relief of the Impotent Poor, and it may be the same relief is also given in a narrow measure unto some others, that have great Families, and upon this they live miserably and at best from hand to mouth, and if they cannot get work to make out their livelyhood they and their Children set up a trade of Begging at best. But it is rare to see any Provision of a Stock in any Parish for the relief of the Poor. And the reasons principally are these: 1. The Generality of the people that are able are yet unwilling to Exceed the present necessary charge, they do chuse to live for an hour rather than project for the future ; and although possibly trebling their Exhibition in one gross sum at the beginning of the year, to raise a Stock, might in all probability render their future yearly payments for seven years together less by half or two thirds, than what must be without it, yet they had rather continue on their yearly Payments, year after year, though it Exhaust them in time, and make the Poor nothing the better at the years End. 2. Because those places, where there are most Poor, consist for the most part of Trades-men, whose Estates ly principally in their Stocks, which they will not endure to be searched into to make them contribuary to raise any considerable stock for the Poor, nor indeed so much as to the ordinary Contributions : But they lay all the rates to the Poor upon the Rents of Lands and Houses, which alone without the help of the Stocks are not able to raise a Stock for the poor, although it is very plain that Stocks are as well by Law

Law rateable as Lands, both to the relief, and raising a Stock for the Poor. 3. Because the Church-Wardens and Overseers, to whom this power is given, are Inhabitants of the same Parish, and are either unwilling to charge themselves or displease their Neighbours in Charging more than they needs must towards the Poor: And although it were to be wished and hoped, that the Justices of Peace would be forwardly to Enforce them if they might, though it may concern them also in point of present profit, yet if they would do any thing herein, they are not impowered to compel the Church-Wardens and Overseers to do it, who most certainly will never go about it to burthen, as they think, themselves, and displease their Neighbours, unless some Compulsary power were not only lodged by Law, but also executed in some that may have a power over them to inforce it, or to do it, if they do it not, and to do it effectually, if they do it either partially or too sparingly: 4. Because people do not consider the inconvenience that will in time grow to themselves by this neglect, and the benefit that would in a little time accrue to them by putting it in practice if they would have but a little patience, as shall be shewn hereafter.

2. The second Defect is in the Law it self; which are these.

1. No power in the Justices of the Peace, or some Superintendent power to compell the raising of a Stock where the Church-Wardens and Overseers neglect it.

2. The act chargeth every Parish apart where it may be they are able to do little towards it, neither would it be so effectual as if three, four, five or more contiguous Parishes did contribute towards the raising of a Stock proportionable to their Poor respectively.

3. There is no power for hiring or erecting a common

common House, or place for their common Work-House, which may be in some respects, and upon some occasions, useful and necessary, as shall be shewn.

CHAP. III.

The Remedy propounded.

1. **T**hat the Justices of the Peace at the Quarter Sessions do set out and distribute the Parishes in their several Counties into several Divisions, in each of which there may be a Work-House for the common use of the respective Divisions, wherein they are respectively placed, *viz.* one, two, three, four, five or six Parishes to a work-House, according to the greatness or smallness, and accommodation of the several Parishes.

2. That at that Sessions the Church-Wardens and Overseers of the Poor of the respective Parishes, bring in their several rates for the relief of their respective Poor upon Oath. And that the said Justices do assess three, four or five yearly Pays to be levied and collected at one or two intire sums within the time prefixed by them for the raising of a Stock to set the Poor within those precincts on work, and to build or procure a convenient Work-House for imploying the Poor, if need be, in it, and for lodging Materials, and for instructing Children in the Trade or Work.

3. That there be yearly chose by the said Justices a Master for each Work-House, with a convenient Salary out of the said Stock or the proceed thereof, to continue for 3 years, and two Overseers to see the Issuing and return of the said Stock, and to take the accounts quarterly or monthly of the Master, as they shall think fit.

4. That the Stock be delivered to the Overseers, and
by

by them Issued to the Master, as there shall be occasion, and that they also from time to time receive the proceed of the said Stock and the accompts for the same.

5. That at the end of every year the Master and Overseers give up their accounts to the two next Justices of the Peace at times by them prefixed, and publickly notified to the Inhabitants of each Precinct, to the end that they may take any Exceptions to such accounts, if there be cause.

6. That the Master and Overseers of every respective Work-House stand, and be incorporate by the name of Master and Overseers of their respective Precincts, and capable to take in Succession by will or otherwise Lands, Goods, or Money, or other Legacies or gifts for the Benefit of the Poor, within their respective Precincts.

7. That they also be accountable as well to their respective Successors, and also to the Justices of the Peace at their Quarter Sessions for the benefit and proceed and Imployment of such Gifts and Bequests.

8. That they be disabled to grant any Lands to them given or bequeathed for any longer term than one Year, and at an improved Rent.

9. That if any person that is able to work, and not able to maintain himself, shall refuse to do so, he may be forced thereunto by Warrant of two Justices of Peace by Imprisonment, and moderate correction in such Work-house.

10. If any person imployed by the master shall imbezill or wilfully prejudice, or spoil his work, he shall upon complaint and proof thereof by the party grieved to any Justice of Peace, and by Warrant from him receive Imprisonment or moderate correction by Warrant of such Justice.

These be the heads of that Provision, I could wish for the setting the Poor on work, which is but an Essay and may receive Alterations or Additions upon consideration.

The

The Benefits, that would come by this Method, would be very many and great: I shall set down some of them that occur to me.

1. By Incorporating of these Work-Houses, which are the best kind of Hospitals, charitable-minded Persons would have as it were a Pillar whercunto to fasten their Charity, which would prevent many Difficulties in the faithful Administration thereof, and would invite Benefactors.

2. Whereas Hospitals provide for some few Poor Impotent People, this would prevent Poverty, and in a little tract of time bring up hundreds to be able to gain their Livelyhoods.

3. Whereas in that State that things are, our Populoufness, which is the greatest blessing a Kingdom can have, becomes the burden of the Kingdom, by breeding up whole Races and Families, and successive Generations, in a mere Trade of Idleness, Thieving, Begging, and a barbarous kind of life, which must in time prodigiously increase and overgrow the whole face of the Kingdom, and eat out the heart of it: This course within one seven Years alters the whole state of this Disorder, and brings People and their Children after them into a Regular, Orderly, and Industrious course of life, which will be as natural to them as now Idleness, and Begging, and Thieving is.

For no Person will have need to Beg or Steal, because he may gain his living better by Working.

And no man will be so vain, and indeed hurtful to the Publique as to give to such as Beg, and thereby to encourage them, when he is sure they may gain their living by Working. And all the Laws against Vagrants, Beggers and Wanderers, will be then Effectually put in Execution, when we may be sure they may be employed if they will: But till that the interdicting
B and

and punishing of the Beggars and Givers, seems to me a most unreasonable piece of Imprudence as well as Uncharitableness.

4. By this means the Wealth of the Nation will be increased, Manufactures advanced, and every Body put into a capacity of eating his own Bread; for upon what imaginable account can we think, that we should not be as able to improve our Populoufness to our Wealth, as well as *Holland*, and *Flanders*, and *Barbadoes*, if we had but their Industry and orderly Management? If it be said, their Disposition is more industrious than ours; it is true, in that condition that matters are ordered; but, if we had the same industrious Education, we should have the same industrious Disposition: let a man, one that hath been bred up in the Trade of Begging, he will never, unless compelled, fall to Industry; and on the other side, it is a wonderful Necessity indeed that shall bring one bred up in Civility and Industry, to beg; as is easily observable in many poor Places and Families.

And were there no other Benefit to the Kingdom in general, nor to the particular Places where such Work-houses shall be settled but this, although the Stock were wholly lost in four Years, it would be an abundant Recompence, by the accustoming the poor sort to a civil and industrious course of Life, whereby they would soon become not only not burdensom, but profitable to the Kingdom and Places where they live.

5. By this means there would soon be an improvement of the several Manufactures of the Kingdom, both for the necessary Consumption of the Kingdom, and for Exportation, whereby our Trade Outward would exceed our Trade Inward, which Outward Trade, as it is the Basis and Foundation of all our Trade Inward, and the Excess and Over-balance of our

our Trade Outward to our Trade Inward is the only means not only to keep our Money at home, but to gain an increase of Money, and so advanceth the true intrinsique Wealth of the Kingdom; for as of our Hand, if our Trade Outward exceed our Trade Inward, the excess must of necessity be returned in Money or Bullion; so if our Trade Inward exceed our Trade Outward, the excess must be made good from hence in Money, which must needs insensibly impoverish the Kingdom; and Experience makes us know it to be true. Now the advance of our Manufactures would be by this means plainly evident; for, Woollen Manufactures, or Cloath, the Staple Commodity of this Kingdom, would be more, and these other Woollen Manufactures, as Kerseys, Serges, Baize, which though now confined to several parts of the Kingdom, as *Devonshire, Norfolk, Colchester*; would be by this means diffused over the whole Kingdom, and those places which have little of Woollen Manufacture, as *Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire*, and other Counties, would soon fall into it; so likewise knitting of Stockings, Caps, Waist-Coats, and the like. 2. Our Linnen Manufactures, as Linnen Cloath; Laces of all sorts; Nets, Sails, &c. would become Native, and supply the want of the Kingdom, and prevent the necessity of Importation of Linnen Cloath from *Holland and France*, of Laces from *Flanders*: and as this Trade is in some degree used in *Lancashire, Leicestershire*, and some other places, so it would be communicated to other places of the Kingdom: and it is very considerable the numbers of Poor that would be by this means employed in dressing of Hemp and Flax, Spinning, Weaving, Whitening, and the like. And if any shall say, we want the Materials, and we want those that should instruct the Poor in the ordering of them, the

Answer is at hand; If once the Manufacture were begun to be put into a method by this way, all men would quickly sow Hemp and Flax in some parcels of their Tillage, and possibly some Lands that were not so fit for other Tillage, would be imployed in this: two Acres of Hemp and Flax in every Parish would imploy multitudes, which now People neglect to sow because they have no way to vent or imploy it. And for Instructors, when once the alarum is abroad of such a design, it will draw over Workmen from other Foreign Parts; and by this means we gained, or at least recovered the skill of making Woollen Cloath from other parts, as appears by undeniable Evidence. And if it shall be said that this will defraud and straiten us of Labourers in our Woollen Manufactures, there can be no fear of that, for we have Poor enough to be imployed in both: and it is most certain, that the Populousness of the Kingdom still increaseth, notwithstanding its great Exhaustings by Wars and Plagues, and Foreign Plantations, and consequently the Poor will be proportionably increased, so that we may reasonably suppose, that in one seven Years, by the blessing of God, the very Proceeds that will be able and fit to work, of poor Families, will be more than double to what they are now, which will continually increase in a kind of Geometrical Progression, whereby there will be enough for double the Imployment that is now for them.

6. By the means of these Work-Houses, there will be an opportunity for one or two Persons, skilled in any Manufacture, to instruct twenty in the Trades, by common resort, meeting, and daily residence of Children and young People there; and there may be opportunity to teach Children to read, without any Interruption in the Employments of them that are able

to teach them, or of them that are able to work.

7. By this means the yearly Contributions for the Necessary relief of Poor, that are able to work, and their Families, and those kind of Contributions which in time will be impossible to support the Poor, will be changed into a supply every way more easie for them that are to pay, though at first it may require a more liberal assistance for the raising of the Stocks, and Every way more beneficial and advantageous for the Poor; First, Because they will hereby be educated and inured to a way of Civility and Industry. 2. They will gain a Trade, which will go along with them as the constant support of their lives. 3. The Wages that they will gain will be a greater and better support than they can have by any Contributions that are able to be assessed for them, for they may be able to gain, Two, Three, Four, Five and Six shillings a Week, for every Person able to work, which is five times more than their weekly or yearly Contributions do or can amount unto, without Exhausting more than the Revenues of the Parishes, wherein these Poor are in many places: and this shall be demonstrated to the Eye of any that will consider this instance, which I have Exactly tryed, and Examined, and found to be true.

The ordinary Process and time, and charge of making a common course medly Cloth of our Gloucestershire Wool at this day is;

1. In every such Cloath of about 32 yards long there is Ninety Pounds of Wool, which will cost at this day at 12 d. per pound 4 l. 10 s. viz. ordinary in a gray Cloath.

54 l. of Abb.	_____	_____	} 4 l. 10 s.
34 l. of Warp.	_____	_____	
21 l. of Mixture.	_____	_____	

2. The Charge of making this Cloath: W

	l.	s.	d.
1 Parting and Picking	0	3	0
2 Colouring	0	16	0
3 Breaking and Spinning the Abb, at two pence farthing per l.	1	7	9
4 Breaking and Spinning the Warp at 5. d. per l.	0	18	6
5 Cards and Oyl	1	0	0
6 Weaving, Spooling and Warping	1	1	3
7 Milling and Burling	0	12	0
8 Shearing and Dressing	0	18	0
9 Drawing	0	1	6
10 Cartlage and Pasturage	0	7	0
So the whole Charge comes to	11	15	0

Out of which deducting the Materials of Wool and Cards, and Oyl, viz. 5 l. 10 s.

Their Remains entirely for the Expence of Work, amount to 6 l. 5 s.

It is true, at this day this Cloath yields not above 12 l. to be sold, which is only 5 s. profit; but when Trade is quicker it may yield 13 l. or more.

3. The People that are employed in bringing about this Cloath to be ready, are fourteen, viz. three Weavers and Spoolers, two Breakers, six Spinners, one Fuller and Burler, one Sheer-man, one Parter and Picker: The Weavers supply the office of Spooler and Warper.

4. These will bring about the first Cloath in about two months space: But being continued in a constant tract, the Cloath will be brought about in three weeks time; for all the other Workmen are at work, and fit the Cloath for the Weaver in that space that he is weaving the first Cloath.

5. Consequently this one Loom thus employed all the Year round, allowing two months to the first cloath, and three Weeks to every other, will make fourteen Returns

returns the first year of Cloath ready for sale; and sixteen returns every Year after.

6. Consequently that which this yields for bare Wages to these 14 poor Workmen for the first year is Eighty seven Pounds ten Shillings, and for the following Years is Ninety seven pounds; and by this Computation it is easie to see what every Work-man can gain a Week being fully imployed.

7. About one hundred Pounds stock will for ever keep this Looms work going, and maintain these fourteen Workmen, and consequently a Stock of four hundred Pounds will keep on foot four Looms work, and keep on Work 56 Persons, and be able to abide the ordinary delays of sale incident to the Markers.

8. But if it could be supposed that the Cloath could be sold as soon as made (which is not I confess reasonably to be expected) then a stock of four and twenty pounds would by its continual return provide Materials, and pay the Workmen for one Looms work in perpetuity: But because the returns by sale cannot be as speedy as the work is done, the Stock must be near 100*l.* to abide the delay of a Month, two, three, four or more, in point of sale; and likewise to buy Wool seasonably for Work. And by this it appears that although one hundred pounds Stock by its 16 returns yields but an inconsiderable advantage to the Master, at five shillings *per* Cloath, *viz* but four pounds in the year, yet it yields a considerable advantage to the poor Workers, *viz* near one hundred pounds *per annum*; and consequently a Stock of four hundred pounds yields near four hundred pounds *per annum*. And consequently these fifty six poor People that are kept on work with this Stock of four hundred Pounds could not live better, if the Parish were at the yearly pension of four hundred Pounds *per annum*, to relieve them,

nor indeed so well, considering they are by this means kept in a way of Employment and honest Industry; and yet without some supply either by Wages or Contribution, those 56 poor People being destitute of Wages or Contributions to this value or near it, must live by stealing, or begging, or starve.

And let it be also considered, that this Stock thus raised and set going, maintains it self by a perpetual Circulation and Vicissitude, without any considerable help by any farther Supply, and yet perpetually counter-veils a Contribution of near four hundred Pounds *per ann.* for the relief of these fifty six poor Persons.

By all which it will appear, that the advantage of a Stock imployed, and once set on foot, doth counter-vail a great Contribution, and indeed, greater than can be raised and yearly continued by most places, and will at last in time render those yearly constant Contributions lower and less needful.

9. But yet farther, by this means there will be a reasonable gage set to Wages of Workmen: It is not unknown how that some covetous Masters in hard times, if they are well stocked and of Abilities, will set on work many Poor, but they must take such Wages as they are not able to live upon, and that also many times paid in Corn, Wool, Cheese, and other things, at rates high enough: and indeed, if they will work upon these terms they may, but if not, they turn them off, or not imploy them, and thereupon the poor Workmen not being able to live without Work, and having no place to resort for any, are under a necessity of working to them at inconsiderable Rates. And such Masters make greater advantage by this means when Trade is low than when it is open: but by this means there would be a refuge for the Poor to be imployed at reasonable Wages; and the reason is evident, because this being but an Expedient,

pedient, not so much for gain to the Master, as for imployment for the Poor, as long as the Stock makes but good it self, or be managed without considerable loss, it attains its End, and therefore may give competent Wages. But on the other hand the Trading-Master looks for his Profit, and if his Stock turns not to him for Gain, he gives over, or reduceth the Work-man to inconsiderable Wages, that his own Gain may be the greater. And although it may be there be some honest minded and charitable Masters that will be content for some time to imploy their Stock though without Gain, yet they are but rare to be found, and such as commonly hold not out long unless they find Profit, though perchance they suffer no loss.

These be some of those Considerations that shew the usefulness of this Expedient: I shall now consider some of the *Objections* that may be made against it.

1 *Obj.* It is a great Business to raise for the purpose four Years Pay at once to make up a Stock, and yearly Contributions are more easie.

I answer, It is true, and yet the advantage even to the Objectors themselves is even to their Sense apparently great: If a man had a Rent of Inheritance issuing out of his Land, he would not think much of giving sixteen years purchase to buy it in: And the charge that goes out for the Poor, as it is as much and as certain a Charge as a Rent, so it is evident to us that it hath increased yearly, and of necessity, the longer things are continued in this careless way, it must increase in an excessive Proportion, and to give four Years Purchase to abate it, or if it were but to keep it at a stay, were good husbandry. 2. Besides this, let a man consider what other Losses do accrue by the want of a due Provision of Work, and an industrious Education for the Poor, in thieving and stealing, and sending such Malefactors to Goals at the charges of the Parish, in prosecuting them

them at Assizes and Sessions, in cutting and destroying of Woods, pulling of Hedges, and trespasses to Corn and Grass thereby, in Alms giving at the door; these would be, if not altogether prevented, yet, in a great measure they would, when that most unchristian and indecent inhumane way of Living among most ordinary indigent People is remedied by convenient Employment and Wages.

2 *Obj.* But there are a sort of idle People that will rather beg than work, though they may be employed; and so that Trade of Begging and Idleness would be still continued.

I Answer, 1. That we do surmise a compulsory Law to enforce Idle Persons to work; which would prevent it. 2. By this means, the benefit of Working would exceed the benefit of Begging, which would cause Persons to leave it. 3. By the educating of Children in a way of Industry there would be gradually a Disaccustomedness to that way, which would in time quite remove it. But 4. When men were once assured by a clear Evidence, that the Poor might have Work upon reasonable terms, no man would give; the Laws against Wanderers that were able to work, and against the Relievers of such, would be cheerfully put in Execution, which now men even upon the account of common Charity cannot bring themselves to.

3 *Obj.* But what considerable advantage would such a Stock as four hundred Pounds do when perchance in a time of Trading four or five thousand Pounds employed by Masters in a Parish is but enough to set their Poor on work, where it may be there are two or three hundred persons that are thus employed.

I answer, It would be a great help to the Poor in a time of scarcity of work, although it should lie still in a time of plenty of Work. The supply of Work, for a month,

month, or two, or three, in a Year, when Traders for advantage give over, keeps Industry on the wheels, and yields a considerable Supply. 2. In good times, when there is no need of it, it is as capable of Increase and Improvement, being employed as private mens Stocks are, which would enlarge it, or at least enable it to beat some loss in times of lowness of Trade. 3. If once such a Stock were going, it would not only increase by it self, but it would have continual accession by charitable Gifts, which would do five times the good thus employed, than employed as they are in Doles and little yearly Pensions, which consume and come to nothing, but are swallowed up in the present Necessity of the Poor, and leave but small signs of advantage behind them: whereas the following of the method now propounded will at least leave the persons to whom it is applyed, the advantage of an industrious Education and Profession, which will abide by them.

4 *Obj.* But men that are concerned for their own benefit in the prosecution of their Trade, as for instance, of Gloathing, and consequently more careful than Persons employed for others, yet do lose by their trading, and many times impair their Stocks; and therefore this, that cannot be expected to be neither so industriously nor successfully managed, may be in the same Condition.

I answer, 1. in general. In this way there must needs be one of these Events:

1. Either there will be *Gain*, and then it doth improve the Stock, and lays up an Advantage that may compensate a former loss, and enable the bearing of a future loss. And I know no reason but that in this Management there may be sometimes at least of advantage as well as in private trading. The Times are

not

not always at a stand in Trade, but sometimes, and most ordinarily there is some gains in it, though not so much as at other times; and then the good times make amends for the bad.

2. Or else, though there be *no gain*, there will be no loss, but it stands at a stay, and if it doth so this design attains its End, which is the employment of the Poor. Though it yields not the Master or Trader any gain, yet it yields the Poor a subsistence in their Wages and Work. It is true a private Tradesman looks to gain so much as may at least maintain himself and his Family. And if he doth not he gives over his Trading as not answering his end; and it may be in some cases reasonable to do so: But though here be little or no gain, yet the end is attained, because the Poor are employed and paid though the Stock increase not.

3. Or else there is *Loss*: To this I say; 1. If there be Loss, yet it is but gradual, not altogether. Suppose it be twenty, thirty, or forty pounds in a Year, in a Stock of four hundred Pounds, and by that account, yet this Stock will not be wholly exhausted in five or six Years; and if it should be so, yet the Loss to the Parish would not be more than it would be if its old course of contribution at the height that it would have during the spending of that Stock which is thereby, as before is observed, in a great measure remedied: 2. These decays may possibly be repaired by charitable Gifts and Bequests. 3. But if it were not, yet such gradual decays may be supplied by the Parishes with the same Ease that their contribution would have been, all things considered, and possibly better times of Trade may happen at least once in two or three Years which may repair the loss, or at least keep the Stock at its full gage with small helps: 4. But suppose the worst, and that in the Compass of three or four Years the whole

whole Stock were wholly drawn dry; I say confidently, that the advantage the Country would have by a course of industrious Education of the Poor continued but one three or four Years, will more then countervail the loss of a very considerable Stock, in preventing that Trade of Idleness which grows up in poor Families, which will daily infinitely increase, and will receive a very great check, and possibly such as will for ever prevent the return of such a course of life by the interruption of a tract of three or four Years of Employment, and will put thousands in that tract of time into a course of trade and livelyhood which they will carry with them all their lives after. 5. And besides all this, it is not likely the Trade will suffer a perpetual interruption, but even while this Stock is in this wane and declination, private men will be Trading, and then in this decay and declination of the Stock (if it should be unsupplied) there will be Work at private hands, and Persons instructed and fitted and able to do it, which may prevent a total interruption of an industrious Education, and may give some intervals of relaxation of the employment of the common Stock, at least in that fulness as formerly till it be recruited by new supplies. 6. But yet farther, the Method of the proposed Employment, though it be principally bottomed upon the trade of Woollen Cloathing, yet it will have other supplies, as is propounded, as making of Kerseys, Baize, Knitting of Stockings, dressing and ordering of Hemp and Flax, and spinning and Weaving it. And though there were no other but the Woollen Manufacture, yet if it should please our Superiours to interdict the wearing of forein Manufactures, our own consumption at home and the necessity that they have in forein Parts of our Woollen Manufactures, would double the Trade of Woollen Manufactures.

5. *Obj.* The poor have Work already if they will work, and the setting up such a publique Trade will but make Workmen the more independent, and decline the Employment of private Traders, which will tend to the decay of Trade.

I Answer 1. It is true, when Trading is quick possibly they may have Work enough, but upon any check in Trade they are oftentimes turned off unless they will work at extream low Wages, and ill paid. 2. When work is so plenteous at private hands, there may be an intermission or relaxation of the Employment of the common Stock: Especially if they can have better Wages at private hands; for it will be enough for this to be supplemental of the defects of work at others hands, and it sufficiently attains its End if it may be a refuge at the time of need for those that would work and cannot get it, and an Expedient to force those to work that can and will not.

6 *Objection.* Poor that do their work well, and are honest and industrious, cannot want work when any is to be had in the Country, and those that are not employed are either such as will not work, or cannot tell how to work, or will steal or purloin their work: These will undoe the Work-house.

I answer 1. Sometimes there are, when the honestest Workmen cannot get Work, and this will be a reserve for them. 2. But as for others, here will be an Expedient to teach them to work that cannot, and to compell them to Work that can, and to punish them that are dishonest in their Work. 3. And if there were no punishment, yet when a Work-House and Stock is once settled, that would be sufficient to make them Work: For when every man were once sure that they that would honestly work might have it, and reasonable Wages, every Wanderer and Begger would

would be esteemed such a Person as will not work, or will be dishonest in it, and not fit to be relieved, but the Laws to be severely put in Execution against them.

7 *Obj.* But where shall we have men that will undertake the employment, and be faithful and trusty in it?

I answer, 1. There be many poor and honest men, who for a small Salary and a Room or two to work and lodge in the Work-House, would be fit enough to undertake the Employment of a Master, and yet he would have no great Trust upon him, for the Stock would be lodged in the hands of the Overseers, and they to deliver it out, and take weekly or monthly Accounts: which Overseers may be substantial men and at no great trouble, and eligible either by the Justices of Peace or Parishioners, yearly, or once in three years, and their trouble would be no greater than the trouble of Overseers of the Poor, or Church-Wardens in any Parish.

And thus I have hastily and cursorily gone through the Method, Reasons, and Objections of this Proposal, which I am sure, if it can be brought to a due Accomplishment, is,

1. A Work of great Humanity, and such as we owe to those of our own Nature, as we are men. The wise God did tell his ancient people, that the Poor should be always among them; which was, 1. To exercise their Liberality and Charity in supplying the Wants of some by the Abundance of others. And 2. To exercise their Discretion and Industry to think of and set on foot such means as might put them in a course of honest Employment, and encourage them in it: they that are rich are Stewards of their Wealth, and they that are wise are Stewards of their Wisdom, unto that great Master of the Family of Heaven and Earth, to whom they must give an account of both; and

and one, I am sure, of the best Accounts they can give of both, is to employ them in the Reformation and Relief of those that want both or either. Am I my Brother's Keeper, was the Answer of one of the worst of men.

2. A Work that as well becomes a Christian as any, Christianity recommending Charity as one of the principal Christian Vertues. And indeed, the ill provision for the Poor in *England*, is one of the greatest Reproaches to us in relation to our Christian Profession:

3. A Work for a good *English* man. The want of a due Provision for Education and Relief of the Poor in a way of Industry, is that which fills the Goals with Malefactors, and fills the Kingdom with idle and unprofitable Persons, that consume the Stock of the Kingdom without improving it, and that will daily increase even to a Desolation in time: And this Error in the first Concoction is never remediable but by Gibbets and Whipping. But there must be a sound, prudent, and resolved Method for an industrious Education of the Poor, and that will give better Remedy against these Corruptions than the after gain of Penalties can.

F I N I S.

A
LETTER

FROM

Sir MATTHEW HALE, Kt.

Sometime Lord Chief Justice of

ENGLAND,

TO HIS

CHILDREN:

Advising them

How to behave themselves
in their SPEECH.

LONDON, Printed by J. Playford, for
W. Shrowsbery, at the Sign of the
Bible in Duke-Lane: 1684.

LETTER

FROM

JOHN HALL, Esq.

TO

EDWARD

TO HIS

GRACE

AND

FROM THE

SECRETARY

LONDON: Printed by J. P. Knapton, for
W. Johnston, at the Sign of the
Three Kings in St. Pauls Church-yard: 1734.

LETTER

FROM

Sir MATTHEW HALE, *Knight*;

TO HIS

CHILDREN.

January 19. 1660.

Children,

I Thank God I came well to *Farrington* this *Saturday* about Five of the Clock, and because I have some leisure time at my Inn, I could not spend that time more to my own Contentment, and your benefit, than by my Letter to give you all good Counsel: The Subject whereof at this time shall be concerning Speech, because

A 2

much

much of the good or evil that befalls persons, doth occasionally happen by the well or ill managing of that part of humane Conversation: I shall as I have leisure and opportunity at other times give you my directions concerning other Subjects.

And herein I shall advise you first, how you are to entertain the Speeches of others, according to the divers varieties thereof: Secondly, how you are to manage and order your own Speech.

First, as concerning the former, observe these directions: 1. Observe and mark as well as you may, what is the temper and disposition of those persons, whose Speeches you hear, whether they be grave, serious, sober, wise, discreet persons, if they be such, their Speeches commonly are like themselves, and well deserve your Attention and Observation. But if they be light, impertinent, vain, passionate persons, their Speech is for the most part according, and the best advantage that you will gain by their Speech, is but thereby to learn their dispositions, to discern their failings, and to make your selves the more cautious both in your conversation with them, and in your own Speech and deportment, for in the unseemliness of their Speech you may better discern and avoid the like in your selves.

2. If

to his Children concerning Speech.

2. If any person, that you do not very well know to be a person of truth, sobriety and weight, relate strange stories, be not too ready or easie to believe them, nor report them after him: And yet (unless he be one of your familiar acquaintance) be not too forward to Contradict him; or if the necessity of the occasion require you to declare your opinion of what is so reported, let it be modestly and gently, not too bluntly or coarsely; by this means, on the one side you shall avoid being abused by your too much credulity; on the other side, you shall avoid quarrels and distaste.

3. If any man speak any thing to the disadvantage or reproach of one that is absent, be not too ready to believe it, only observe and remember it; for it may be it is not true, or it is not all true, or some other circumstances were mingled with it, which might give the business reported a justification, or at least an allay, an extenuation or a reasonable excuse: In most actions, if that which is bad alone, or seems to be so, be reported, omitting that which is good, or the circumstances that accompany it, any action may be easily misrepresented; be not too hasty therefore to believe a reproach, 'till you know the truth, and the whole truth.

4. If any person report unto you some injury done to you by another, either in words or deeds, do not be over hasty in believing it, nor suddenly angry with the person so accused; for possible it may be false or mistaken, and how unseemly a thing will it be, when your credulity and passion, shall perchance carry you upon a supposed injury to do wrong to him that hath done you none; or at least, when the bottom and truth of the accusation is known, you will be asham'd of your passion; believe not a report 'till the party accused be heard; and if the report be true, yet be not transported either with passion, hasty anger or revenge, for that will be your own torment and perturbation: Ever when a person is accused or reported to have injur'd you, before you give your self leave to be angry, think with your self, why should I be angry before I am certain it is true? Or if it be true, how can I tell how much I should be angry 'till I know the whole matter? Though it may be he hath done me wrong, yet possibly it is not so much as it is represented, or it was done by mistake, or it may be he is sorry for it: I will not be angry 'till I know there be cause, and if there be cause, yet I will not be angry 'till I know the whole cause, for 'till then, (if I must be angry at all) yet
I

I know not how much to be angry, it may be it is not worth my anger, or if it be, it may be it deserves but a little. This will keep your Mind and Carriage upon such occasions in a due temper and order; and will disappoint malicious or officious Tale-bearers.

5. If a man whose integrity you do not very well know, makes you great and extraordinary professions and promises, give him as kind thanks as may be, but give not much Credit to it: Cast about with your self what may be the reason of this wonderful kindness, it is twenty to one but you will find something that he aims at, besides kindness to you: It may be he hath something to beg or buy of you, or to sell to you, or some such bargain that speaks out at last his own advantage, and not yours: And if he serve his turn upon you, or if he be disappointed, his kindness will grow cool.

6. If a man flatter and commend you to your face, or to one that he thinks will tell you of it; it is a thousand to one, either he hath deceived and abused you some way, or means to do so: Remember the Fable of the Fox, commending the singing of the Crow, when she had somewhat in her mouth that the Fox liked.

7. If a person be Cholerick, Passionate, and give you ill Language, remember, 1. Rather to pity him, than to be mov'd into anger and passion with him, for most certainly that man is in a distemper and disorder, observe him Calmly and you shall see in him so much perturbation and disturbance, that you will easily believe he is not a pattern to be imitated by you, and therefore return not Choler, nor Anger, for angry words; for you do but put your self into a kind of frenzy, because you see him so: 2. Be sure you return not railing reproaching, or reviling for reviling, for it doth but kindle more heat, and you will find silence, or at least very gentle words, the most Exquisite Revenge of Reproaches that can be, for either it will cure the distemper in the other, and make him see and be sorry for his passion, or it will torment him with more perturbation and disturbance. But howsoever it keeps your innocence, gives you a deserved reputation of Wisdom and Moderation, and keeps up the Serenity and Composure of your Mind: Whereas passion and anger do make a man unfit for any thing that becomes him as a Man, or as a Christian.

8. Some men are excellent in knowledge of Husbandry, some of Planting, some of Gardening, some in the Mathematicks, some in one kind, some in another: In all your Conversation, learn as near as you can wherein the skill and excellence of any person lies, and put him upon talk of that Subject, and observe it, and keep it in Memory or Writing; by this means you will glean up the worth and excellence of every person you meet with, and at an easie rate put together that which may be for your use upon all occasions.

9. Converse not with a lyer or a swearer, or a man of obscene or wanton Language; for either he will corrupt you, or at least it will hazard your Reputation to be one of the like making: And if it doth neither, yet it will fill your memory with such discourses, that will be troublesom to you in aftertime, and the returns of the remembrance of the passages which you long since heard of this nature will haunt you when your thoughts should be better employed.

II. Now as concerning your own Speech, and how you are to manage it; something may be Collected out of what goes before, but I shall add some things else.

1. Let

1. Let your Speech be true, never speak any thing for a truth, which you know or believe to be false: It is a great sin against God, that gave you a Tongue to speak your mind, and not to speak a lye: It is a great offence against humanity it self, for where there is no truth, there can be no safe society between man and man: And it is an injury to the speaker, for besides the base disreputation it casts upon him, it doth in time bring a man to that baseness of mind, that he can scarce tell how to tell truth or to avoid lying, even when he hath no colour of necessity for it; and in time he comes to such a pass, that as another man cannot believe he tells a truth, so he himself scarce knows when he tells a lye: And observe it, a lye ever returns with discovery and shame at the last.

2. As you must be careful not to lye, so you must avoid coming near it, you must not Equivocate, you must not speak that absolutely which you have but by hear-say or relation, you must not speak that as upon knowledge, which you have but by conjecture or opinion only.

3. Let your words be few, especially when your betters, or strangers, or men of more experience, or understanding, are in place, for you do your self at once two great

great mischiefs: 1. You betray and discover your own weakness and folly: 2. You rob your self of that opportunity which you might otherwise have to gain Knowledge, Wisdom, and Experience, by hearing those that you silence by your impertinent talking.

4. Be not over-earnest, lowd, or violent in talking, for it is unseemly, and earnest and lowd talking make you over shoot and lose your business; when you should be considering and pondering your thoughts, and how to express them significantly, and to the purpose, you are striving to keep your Tongue going, and to silence an opponent, not with reason, but with noise.

5. Be careful not to interrupt another in his talk, hear him out, you will understand him the better, and be able to give him the better answer, it may be if you will give him leave he will say somewhat more than you have yet heard, or well understood, or that which you did not expect.

6. Always before you speak, especially where the business is of moment, consider before hand, weigh the sense of your mind which you intend to utter, think upon the expressions you intend to use, that they be significant, pertinent, and unoffensive; and whereas it is the ordinary course of inconsiderate

considerate persons to speak their words, and then to think, or not to think till they speak, think first and speak after, if it be in any matter of moment or seriousness.

7. Be willing to speak well of the absent, if you do not know they deserve ill: By this means you shall make your self many friends, and sometimes an undeserved commendation is not lost to the Party to whom it is given, I have known some men that have met with an undeserved Commendation, out of shame of being worse than they have been reported, secretly to take up practises answerable to their Commendation, and so to make themselves as good as they are reported.

8. Be sure you give not an ill report to any that you are not sure deserves it: And in most Cases though a man deserves ill, yet you should be sparing to report him so; in some Cases indeed you are bound, in Honesty and Justice, to give that account concerning the demerit or default of a person that he deserves; as namely, when you are called to give Testimony for the ending of a Controversie, or when the Concealing of it may harden and Encourage a person in an evil way, or bring another into danger; in such Cases the very duty of Charity binds you to speak your knowledge, may your probable fear, or suspicion of such a person

person, so it be done for prevention of greater inconvenience, and in love, and especially if the discovery be made to a person that hath a superintendence, Care, or Authority over the person complained of; for this is an act of Love and Duty. But for any person maliciously, busily, and with intent to scandalize another, to be whispering Tales and Stories to the prejudice of another, this is a fault: If you know any good of any person, speak it as you have opportunity; if you know any evil, speak it, if it be really and prudently done for the good of him, and the safety of others; otherwise rather chuse to say nothing, than to say any thing reproachfully, maliciously, or officiously, to his prejudice.

9. Avoid Swearing in your ordinary Communication, unless called to it by the Magistrate, and not only the grosser Oaths, but the lesser; and not only Oaths, but imprecations, earnest and deep protestations: As you have the commendable Example of good men to justify a solemn Oath before a Magistrate, so you have the Precept of our Saviour forbidding it otherwise.

10. Avoid scoffing, and bitter, and biting jeering, and jesting, especially at your friends Condition, credit, deformity or natural defects of any person, for these leave

a deep impression, and are a most apparent injustice; for were you so used, you would take it inwardly and amiss, and many times such an injury costs a man dear, when he little thinks of it.

11. Be very carefull, that you give no reproachfull, bitter, menacing or spitefull words to any person, nay not to Servants, or other persons of an inferiour Condition, and that upon these considerations: 1. There is not the meanest person but you may stand in need of him in one kind, or at sometime or another, good words make friends, bad words make enemies, it is the best prudence in the World to make as many friends as honestly you can, especially when it may be done at so easie rate as a good word, and it is the greatest folly that can be to make an enemy by ill words, which do not at all any good to the party that useth them: 2. Ill words provoke ill words again, and commonly such ill words as are gained by such a provocation, especially of an inferiour, stick closer, and wound deeper, than such as come unprovoked by ill Language, or from an equal: 3. Where faults are committed, they may and by a superiour must be reprov'd, but let it be done without reproaches, or bitterness, otherwise it loseth its due end and use, and instead of reforming
the

the offence, exasperates the offender, and makes him worse, and gives him the Cudgel to strike again, because it discovers your own weakness when you are reprehending another, and lays you justly open to his reproof, and makes your own but scorned and disesteemed: I press this the rather, because most ordinarily ill Language is the folly of Children, and of weak and passionate people.

12. If there be occasion for you to speak in any Company, always be careful if you speak at all, to speak latest, especially if Strangers are in Company, for by this means you will have the advantage of knowing the sence, judgment, temper, and relations of others, which may be a great light and help to you in ordering your Speech, and you will better know the Inclination of the Company, and speak with more advantage and acceptation, and with more security against giving offence.

13. Be careful that you commend not your selves, it is the most unuseful and ungrateful thing that can be: You should avoid Flattery from others, but especially decline Flattering of your selves, it is a sign your Reputation is small and sinking, if your own Tongues must be your Flatterers, or Commenders, and it is a fulsom and unpleasing thing for others to hear it.

14. Ab-

14. Abhor all foul, unclean and obscene Speeches, it is a sign that the heart is Corrupt, and such kind of Speeches will make it worse, it will Taint and Corrupt your selves and those that hear it, and brings disreputation to those that use it.

15. Never use any prophane Speeches, nor make jests of Scripture-expressions; when you use the names of God or of Christ, or any passages or words of the holy Scripture, use them with reverence and seriousness, and not lightly, vainly or scurrilously, for it is a taking of the name of God in vain.

16. If you hear of any unseemly Expressions used in Religious Exercises, you must be careful to forget and not to publish them, or if you at all mention them, let it be with pity and sorrow, not with derision or reproach.

17. Do not upbraid any, or deride any man for a pious, strict, or religious Conversation; for if he be sincere, you dishonour God and injure him: If he be an Hypocrite, yet it is more than you know, or if you know him to be such, yet his external piety and strictness is not his fault, but his Dissimulation and Hypocrisie, and though his Hypocrisie be to be detested, his external Piety and Religion is to be Commended, not Derided.

18. Have

18. Have as little conversation as is possible with obstinate Hereticks, or persons obstinately perverted in matters of Religion, as Papists, Quakers, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Enthusiasts, and the like: But especially converse not with them in matters of Religion; for instead of Converting them by your persuasions to the truth, you shall but harden them the more, and endanger your self: They are to be dealt with all in these matters, only by persons of great Abilities: For a Perverted, Corrupted mind, Obstinate Spirit, carries in it a Contagion, as infectious and much more dangerous than the Plague in the Body, where their opinions meet with a young and weak opponent.

And thus, Children, as the time and my remembrance would give me leave, I have set down some Observations concerning this Subject, for your direction and practise, what is wanting you may abundantly supply by reading the wise Counsels of *Solomon*, in his Book of *Proverbs*: Read these my directions often, think of them seriously, and practise them diligently, though they seem but dry and ordinary things, yet you will find them useful in your Conversation, which will be every day more evident unto you, as your judgment, understanding and experience increase.

I have but little more to write at this time, but to wish and Command you to remember my former Counsels, that I have often given you; begin and end the day with private prayers to God upon your knees, Read the Scriptures often and seriously, be attentive to the public Worship of God in the Church; Keep your selves still in some good employment, for idleness is the Devils opportunity, and the nursery of vain and sinful thoughts, which Corrupt the mind, and disorder the Life, Let the Girls take care of such business of my Family, as is proper for them, and their Recreations may be walking abroad in the fields in Fair or Frosty mornings, some work with their Needle, Reading of History or *Herbals*, setting of Flowers or Herbs, practising their Musick, and such innocent and harmless exercises: Let the Boys be diligent at their Books, and when they have performed their Tasks, I do not deny them such Recreations as may be healthy, safe and harmless. Be you all kind and loving one to another, honouring your Minister, not bitter or harsh to my Servants, be respectful to all, bear my absence Patiently, Cheerfully and Faithfully; do all things as if I were present among you and beheld you, for you have a greater Father than I am, that always and in all places beholds you, and
 knows

knows your hearts and thoughts : Study to requite the Love, and Care, and Expençe of your Father for you, with dutifulness, observance and obedience to him : And account it an honour, that God hath given you an opportunity in my absence, by your Care, Faithfulness and Industry, to pay some part of that debt, that by the Laws of Nature and Gratitude you owe unto me : Be frugal in my Family, but let there be no want : Provide conveniently for the Poor, that come to my door. And I pray God to fill all your hearts with his Grace, Fear and Love ; and to let you see the advantage and comfort of serving him, and that his blessing, and presence, and comfort, and direction, and providence, be with you, and over you all. I am,

Your ever Loving Father,

MATTHEW HALE.

F I N I S.

[illegible]

How can I give love to you?

STILL WANTED

A
LETTER
FROM
S^r MATTHEW HALE, K^t
Sometime Lord Chief Justice of
ENGLAND:
To One of his
S O N S,
After his Recovery from the
SMALL-POX.

L O N D O N,
Printed by J. Playford, for W. Shrovsbery, at
the Sign of the Bible in Duke-lane: 1684.

LETTER

FROM

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

TO THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

OF NATURAL HISTORY

AND

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

OF NATURAL HISTORY

AND

THE

[1]

A
LETTER
FROM
Sir MATTHEW HALE,
To One of his
S O N S.

Son —

Although by reason of the Contagiousness of your Disease, and the many dependents I have upon me, I thought it not convenient to come unto you during your sickness; yet I have not been wanting in my earnest Prayers to Almighty God for you, nor in using the best means I could for your recovery.

It hath pleased God to hear my Prayers for you, and above means and hopes now to restore you to a Competent degree of health, for which I return unto him my humble and hearty thanks, and now you are almost ready to come abroad again, therefore I have thought fit to write this little Book to you, for these reasons.

1. Because it is not yet seasonable for you to come to me, in respect of these same reasons above mentioned, which hitherto have restrained my coming to you.

2. Because at your coming abroad, you will be subject to Temptations, by young and inconsiderate Company, which instead of serious Thankfulness to God for his mercy to you, might perchance persuade you to a vain, and light jollity: And I thought fit to send you these Lines to prevent such inconsiderate impressions, and to meet you just at your coming abroad, to season you with more wise and serious principles.

3. Because you are even now come out of a great and sore Visitation, and therefore, in all probability, in the fittest temper to receive the impressions of a serious Epistle from your Father.

And I have chosen to put it into this little Volume, because it is somewhat too long for

for a Letter; and may be better preserved for your future use and memory.

God Almighty hath brought you to the very Gates of Death, and shewed you the Terrour, and Danger of it; and after that he had shewn you this Spectacle of your own Mortality, he hath marvellously rescued and delivered you from that danger, and given you life, even from the dead, so that you are as a man new Born into the World, or returned to Life again, which now you seem as it were to begin: You have passed through those two great Dispensations of the Divine Providence, those two great Experiments, that God is pleased sometimes to use towards the Children of men, namely, Correction and Deliverance, his Rod and his Staff: And therefore in all reasonable conjecture, this is the most seasonable time to give you a Lecture upon both, and those admonitions which may be, render the one, and the other profitable unto you: And this I shall endeavour to do in these following Lines.

First, you shall not need to fear that I intend to rebraid you with the errors of your Youth, or to expostulate with you touching them: For I do assure you, I do from my heart forgive you all your follies, and miscarriages: And I do assure my self,

that you have repented of them, and resolved against them for the time to come, and that thereupon God-almighty hath also fully forgiven what is past: And this is a great assurance thereof to me, in that he hath so wonderfully restored you, and given you as it were a new Life, wherein you may obey and serve him better than ever you yet did: And therefore if in this Letter, there be any touches concerning former vanities, assure your self, they are not angry repetitions, but only necessary Cautions for your future ordering of your Life.

The business of these papers, is principally, to commend unto you, two general Remembrances, and certain Results and Collections, that arise from them, they are all seasonable for your present Condition, and will be of singular use and benefit to you, in the whole ensuing Course of your Life.

First, I would have you as long as you live, remember your late Sicknes in all its Circumstances, and these plain and profitable inferences, and advices, that arise from it.

Secondly, I would have you remember as long as you live, your great deliverance, and the several Circumstances of it, and those necessary duties that are incumbent upon you, in relation thereunto.

It is evident to daily experience, that while Afflictions are upon us, and while deliverances are fresh, they commonly have some good effect upon us; But as the Iron is no sooner out of the fire, but it quickly returns to its old coldness, and hardness; so when the Affliction or Deliverance is past, we usually forget them, count them common things, attribute them to Meanes and second Causes: And so the good that Mankind should gather from them vanish, and men grow quickly to be but what they were before they came; their sick-bed promises are forgot, when the sickness is over.

And therefore I shall give you an account of your sickness, and of your recovery: And let them never be forgotten by you, as often as those Spots and Marks in your Face are reflected to your view from the Glass, as often as this paper comes in your sight, nay as often as you open your Eyes from sleep, which were once closed, and likely never to open again; so often and more often remember your sickness, and your recovery, and the admonitions that this paper lends you from the Consideration of both.

First, therefore touching your late sickness, I would have you remember these particulars: 1. The Disease it self, in its own nature, is now become ordinarily very Mortal, especially to those of your Age: Look upon even the last years General Bill of Mortality, you will find near Two Thousand dead of that Disease the last Year, and had not God been very merciful to you, you might have been one of that number, with as great likelihood as any of them that Dyed of that Disease: 2. It was a Contagious Disease, that secluded the access of your nearest Relations: 3. Your sickness surprised you upon a suddain, when you seemed to be in your full strength: 4. Your sickness rendred you Noyson to your self, and all that were about you, and a spectacle full of deformity, by the excess of your Disease beyond most that are sick thereof: 5. It was a fierce and violent sickness, it did not only take away the common supplies of nature, as digestion, sleep, strength, but it took away your memory, your understanding, and the very sense of your own Condition, or of what might be conducing to your good: All that you could do was only to make your Condition more desperate, in Case they that were about you, had not prevented it, and taken more
Care

Care for you, than you did or could for your self: 6. Your sickness was desperate, in so much, that your Symptoms, and the violence of your distemper, were without Example; and you were in the very next degree to absolute Rottenness, Putrefaction, and Death it self.

Look upon the foregoing Description, and remember that such was your Condition, you were as sad a Picture of Mortality, and Corruption, as any thing but Death it self could make: Remember it: And Remember also, these ensuing Instructions, that may make that Remembrance profitable and useful to you.

First, Remember that *Affliction cometh not forth of the dust, nor doth trouble spring out of the ground*, Job 5. 6. But this terrible visitation, was sent to you from the wise overruling Providence of God: It is he that bringeth down to the Grave, and bringeth up again. It is true, that this Disease may seem common, but you may and must know, that there was more than the common hand of God in sending it upon you, in such a manner, and such a measure, and at such a season, when you were grown up to a Competent Age, and degree of understanding, to make a due use of it, that you might see his justice in Afflicting you, and his goodness in delivering you from such a danger.

Secondly,

Secondly, Remember that Almighty God is of most infinite Wisdom, Justice and Mercy, he hath excellent ends in all his dispensations of his providences: He never sends an Affliction, but it brings a message with it, his Rod has a voice; a voice Commanding us, to search and try our ways, and to examin our selves whether there hath not been some great sin against him, or neglect of duty to him; a voice Commanding us to repent of what is a miss, to humble our selves under his mighty hand, to turn to him that striketh us, to seek to him by Prayer for deliverance, to depend upon him by Faith, in his mercy and power; to amend what is a miss, to be more watchful, circumspect, and obedient to him, in the future course of our lives, to fear to offend him: And if a man hear this voice, God hath his end of mercy and goodness, and man hath the fruit, benefit, and advantage of his Affliction, and commonly a Comfortable issue of it: Read often and attentively the 33th. Chapter of *Job*, from the beginning to the end.

Thirdly, Remember how uncertain, and frail a Creature man is, even in his seeming strongest Age, and Constitution of health; even then a pestilential Air, some evil humour in his blood, some obstruction it may be

to One of his Sons.

be of a little vein or artery, a little meat ill-digested, and a thousand small occurrences may upon a suddain, without any Considerable warning, plunge a man into a desperate and mortal sickness, and bring a man to the grave. Remember this terrible sickness seized upon you suddenly, pulled down your strength quickly, and brought you to the very brink of the Grave: And though God hath recovered you, you know not how soon you may be brought into the like Condition.

Fourthly, Remember therefore, that you make and keep your peace with God, and walk in his fear in the days of health; especially after so great a deliverance, and that for very many reasons: 1. You know not whether you may not be overtaken with sudden Death, and then it will be impossible for you to begin that work: 2. If you have sickness to give you warning of the approach of Death, yet you know not whether that sickness may not suddenly take away your senses, memory, or understanding, whereby you may be disabled to make your peace with God, or to exercise any serious thoughts concerning it: 3. But if that sickness give you fair warning, and take not away your understanding, yet your own experience cannot chuse but let you know,
that

that pain, and weakness, and distraction of mind, and impatience, and unquietness, are the common attendants of a sick bed, and render that season at least very difficult, then to begin that greatest and solemnness, and most important business of a mans Life.

4. But if your sickness be not so sharp, but that it leaves you patience, and attention of mind for that great business, how do you know whether your heart shall be inclined to it? Repentance and Conversion to God is his gift, though it must be our endeavour: And though the merciful God, never refuseth a repenting, returning offender; yet how can a man that all the time of his health hath neglected Almighty God, refused his invitations, and served his lusts and his sin, expect reasonably, that God in the time of sickness, when the man can serve his sins no longer, will give him the grace of repentance?

What ever you do therefore, be sure you make your peace with God, and keep it in the days of your health, especially after so great a deliverance from so desperate a sickness.

Fifthly, Remember that your Condition is never so low, but that God hath power to deliver you, and therefore trust in him: But remember withall, that your Condition

is

is never so safe and secure, but you are within the reach of his power to bring you down; You are now by the mercy of God recovered from a terrible sickness, think not with your self that your turn is now served, and that you shall have no more need of him, and therefore that you may live as you list, and never regard your duty to him; deceive not your self herein, remember that this sickness, within two or three days brought you upon your knees, even from a seeming state of health: The Case is the same still, nay much worse, if this Affliction make you not better; Almighty God called you to love, and serve, and obey him, by the still voice of his word, by the perswasion of your Friends, by the advices and reproofs of your Father; and when these were not so effectual, (as I know you now wish they had been,) He sent a messenger that spake lowder, that would be heard, even this terrible sickness; and most certainly, if you have heard the voice of this Rod, (as I am hopeful you have) and thereupon entirely turn to your duty to God in all sincerity and obedience, it is the happiest providence that ever befell you, and you will upon sound Conviction, conclude with the Prophet, *It was good for me that I was Afflicted*: But on the other side, if notwithstanding this voice

voice of the Rod, you shall after your recovery turn again to folly, and vanity, and excess, and harden your self against this messenger; know for certain you are within the reach of the Divine Justice and Power: *And if you walk contrary to him, he will walk contrary to you, and punish you yet seven times for your sins*, Levit. 26. 24. I therefore give you that Counsel, that our Lord gave to him that he had healed, *Behold thou art made whole, go thy way and sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee*. There is no contesting with Almighty God, he is ready and easie to be reconciled to the worst of men, upon humiliation and true repentance; but he is not to be Mastered or Conquered by obstinacy and opposition: *Who hath hardened himself against him and prospered?* Job 9. 4.

Sixthly, I would have you Remember, that sickness as well as death doth undeceive Mankind, and shews them where their true Wisdom lies: When a young man, especially, is in the full career of his vanity and pleasures, he thinks that Religion, and the fear of God, and walking according to his word, and the serious practice of duties of Religion towards God, prayer unto him, making our peace with him, are pitiful, low, foolish, and inconsiderable matters, and that those that practise them, are a sort
of

of brain-sick, melancholy, unintelligent persons, that want wit or breeding, and understand not Themselves or the World; that they are mere empty fancies and imaginations, whimsies, puritanism, and I know not what else: But on the other side, they think they are the brave men that live splendidly, deny themselves no Pleasure, can Drink, and Roar, and Whore, and Debauch, and wear the newest Fashions; it may be, this Gallant or Wise man comes to be taken with a fit of sickness, that tells him he must dye, Death is at the door, his Glass is almost out, and but a few sands left in it: And then the man becomes quite of another judgment, he cries out of his former foolishness, he finds his pleasures and intemperance and excess, are not only perfect follies, but madness, vexation, torment; and Religion and Prayer to God, and Devotion and Peace with God, they are now in request; and now nothing but declamations against those Courses, which in his health he valued as the only Wisdom; and nothing but promises of amendment, and reformation of Life, and Devotion to God; so sickness hath undeceived the man, and given him a true and rectified judgment concerning Wisdom, and Folly, quite contrary to what he had before: Therefore I would have you recollect your self,

self, (and if the violence of your Disease left you at any time the use of your reason) bethink your self what opinion you then had of intemperance, wasting of time; unlawful lust, or any of those sins that formerly pleased you in your health, whether they did not appear to you in your sickness, very vain, foolish, vexing things, such as you wished never to have been committed; and on the other side, what opinion you had in your sickness touching Piety towards God, hearing of his word, calling upon his name, redeeming of time, modesty, temperance: Whether those actions of your life past, that favoured of these, were not Comfortable, and Contenting to you in your sickness; whether your purposes, and promises, and resolutions of your sick-bed, were not full of such thoughts as these: If it please God to recover me, I will never be such a fool as I have been, I will never drink to excess, mispend my time, I will never keep such evil Company as I have done, I will be more devout towards God, more obedient to his word, more observant of good Counsel, and the like: And if you find it to be so, I must desire you to remember that affliction, is the School of Wisdom, it rectifies mens judgments; and I must again desire you, to keep your judgment right still, and set not
the

the recovery of your health become the loss of your wits; but in your health retain that Wisdom your sickness taught you, and practice what you then promised: *Remember he is the wisest man that provides for his latter end: Deut. 32. 29.*

Seventhly, Remember by your former sickness, how pitiful an inconsiderable thing the Body of man is; how soon is the strength of it turned to faintness, and weakness, the beauty of it to ugliness and deformity, the consistency of it to putrefaction and rottenness; and then remember how foolish a thing it is, to be proud of such a Carcass, to spend all, or the greatest part of our time in trimming and adorning it, in studying new Fashions, and new Postures, and new Devices to set it out: In spending our time and provisions in pampering it, in pleasing the Appetite; and yet this is the chief business of most young men of this Age: Learn therefore Humility and Lowliness, learn to furnish thy Noble and Immortal part, thy Soul, with Religion, Grace, Knowledge, Virtue, Goodness, for that will retain it to eternity: How miserable is that mans Condition, that whiles sickness hath made his Body a deformed, weak, loathsome thing, sin hath made his Soul as ugly, and deformed; The Grave will heal or cover the deformity

of the former, but the Soul will carry its Ulcers and Deformity (without Repentance) into the next World: Learn and remember therefore, to have thy greatest Care for thy Noblest part, furnish it with Piety, Grace, Knowledge, the Fear and Love of God, Faith in Christ: And as for thy Body, use it Decently, Soberly and Comely, that it may be a fit Instrument for thy Soul to use in this Life, but be not proud of it, nor make it thy chiefest care and business to adorn, much less defile it.

Eighthly, Remember to avoid intemperance and sinful Lusts: It is true sickness and diseases, and finally death, are by the Laws and Constitutions of our nature incident to all Mankind: But intemperance, excess of Eating and Drinking, Drunkenness, Whoreing, Uncleanneſs and disorder bring more diseases, especially upon young men, and destroy more young, strong, healthy men, than the Plague, or other natural or accidental distempers: They weaken the Brain, Corrupt the Blood, decay and distemper the Spirit, disorder and putrefie the humours, and make the body a very bag full of putrefaction: Some diseases are as it were specifical, and appropriate to these vices, other diseases are commonly occasioned by them, by their inflammation and putrification

on

on of the Blood and humours: And all Diseases, even those that are Epidemical, Natural or Casual, yet are rendred by those vices far more sharp, lasting, malignant and incurable, by that stock of Corrupted matter, they lodge in the body to feed those Diseases, and that impotency that these vices bring upon Nature to resist them: Therefore if you ever expect to have as well a sound body, as a sound mind, carefully avoid intemperance and debauchery: The most temperate and sober persons are subject to sickness, weakness and Diseases, but the intemperate can never be long without them.

And thus I have done with the prospect of your Disease, and at least many of these profitable uses you may gather from the remembrance of it.

II. I shall now in the second place, put you in Remembrance of your Deliverance, touching which, you must remember: 1. That it was a great, eminent, and extraordinary Deliverance, you need no other evidence of it, than by looking back upon the greatness and severity of your Disease before-mentioned: 2. It was a deliverance by the immediate power and mercy of that God, that sent you the Visitation.

Una eademque manus vulnus opemque tulit.
If you had been delivered by the immediate
B 2 efficacy

efficacy of means, yet you are blind if you see not that the efficacy of means depends upon the providence of God, it is he that provides it, and that makes means effectual. But in this deliverance God hath pleased to hedge up (as it were) your way from attributing it to means, and hath given you an indication, that it was done by his own immediate power, and that he delivered you above, and beyond means: It is true, you had a very able and careful Physitian, and very great attendance and care was used about you: But when your Physitian and all that were about you, began to despair of your recovery, when means proved ineffectual, when the strength of Nature was exhausted and baffled by your Disease, God Almighty upon a suddain, and beyond expectation, relieved you, and as it were by his own hand brought you back from the very threshold of the Grave: And this he did, that you and all about you, and all your Relations might take notice of it, that it was he that did it.

And thus Almighty God hath exercised towards you, two great Experiments, the first of his severity, the second of his mercy: And as your Sicknes and Rod had its voice, (a lowd and sharp voice) so your recovery and deliverance hath its voice also, a sweet, gentle, and (I hope) effectual voice; and I will as shortly as I can tell you what it is. First,

First, Remember this benefit, remember it was reached out unto you, from the mere power, goodness, and mercy of God: Remember evermore in your Heart and Soul, to be thankful to him for it: Remember as long as you live upon all occasions to acknowledge it; daily to return upon your knees humble thanks for it, to him that had regard to you, and remembered you in your low Estate, to him that forgave your Iniquities, and healed your Disease, to him that did this for you when all means failed, that did it for you, when you had not the understanding to call upon him for it; to him that did it for you, that deserved it not, for you that had provoked him, and neglected him too much in the time of your health. This God it was, that thus delivered you; Read often the 103 *Psalms* attentively, and apply it to your own Condition, it will do you good.

2. Remember to acknowledge this goodness of God with all humility; your deliverance was not the purchase of your own power, nor of your own desert, it was an Act of the free and undeserved goodness of God; what Almighty God said by *Moses* unto the *Israelites*, Deut. 9. 4. 6. I shall say to you with some variation; understand therefore that the Lord thy God hath not

given thee this deliverance for thy Righteousness: No it is the mere effect of his own goodness, and to give you opportunity to praise him, and serve him, better than ever you did before.

3. Remember that although great deliverances, require your great acknowledgments, yet there is somewhat more required, namely, a real practical glorifying of God, by ordering your Conversation aright, by serving him, pleasing him, obeying him, living to his honour: This Almighty God expects as well as praises, and acknowledgments: As the end of God in afflictions is to make men better, so the end of God in deliverances is to make men better, and if we are not the better men by both dispensations, we do as much as in us lies disappoint Almighty God in his design, and disappoint our selves of the benefit and advantage intended in both, and easily to be gained by both. This therefore is the voice of this deliverance, it calls sweetly, and gently indeed, but earnestly and effectually for amendment of life: And that upon two great and moving arguments: 1. Your recovery and great deliverance calls for this from you, upon the account of common ingenuity and good nature, which obligeth a man to be observant and dutiful to his benefactor:

God

God Almighty is the greatest Benefactor, and hath manifested himself such to you, upon a visible and eminent account; this is engagement enough upon the account of common humanity, to be dutiful and obedient to him: When therefore you are at any time by the Temptation of your own Corruption, or by the sollicitation of evil persons, solicited to evil Actions; Consider thus with your self, Is this a becoming return to that God, that hath thus wonderfully delivered me? Is this the requital that I shall make to him for his mercy? Shall I please a vain Lust, or a vain Companion, and displease the great God of Heaven and Earth, that hath thus delivered me and done me more good, than all the World could ever do me, or than I can ever recompence? *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O ye foolish People, and unwise? Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath he not made thee, and established thee?* Deut. 32. 6.

2. This mercy calls for your obedience to God, in an eminent manner upon the account of common prudence and discretion; the benefit of your obedience to him will be your own, your own happiness in this Life, and in that to come; There is no greater moral security against future dangers and troubles, than obedience, and reformation of Life upon great deliverances received, nor is there

there any greater invitation of new troubles and mischiefs, than ingratitude, disobedience, and great sins after great mercies and deliverances: There is a kind of certain and infallible connexion between great sins, after great mercies received, and great Judgments to follow, *Ingentia beneficia, ingentia peccata, ingentia supplicia*. Again, as I have formerly told you, you do not know how soon you may stand in need of the same mercy, and goodness of God, which you have formerly found: You are never out of the reach of his power, and the necessity of his help; what ever you do, therefore never disoblige him, by whom you Live, and whose extraordinary mercy you may stand in need of, you know not how soon: There is nothing in the World doth more provoke God, than neglect, forgetfulness, or willful disobedience after signal mercies: These provoke the merciful God to a severity of the highest kind, because the sweetest and most obliging call of mercy and deliverance is neglected: Read the first Chapter of the *Proverbs* attentively.

And the merciful God hath given us a plain Rule and Method, how he may be served, obeyed, and pleased, he hath given us a plain discovery of his will in the Scriptures of both Testaments: Read that often,
you

you have it by you, and you need not go far to find what is your Maker's Will, and what that obedience is, that he requires as the return of this, and all other his mercies: Yet I think it not amiss, to mind you of some particulars, that may be useful for you upon this occasion, and to direct you how particularly to improve it, and so order your future Life in some measure answerable to it.

1. I would have you make it your first business after your perfect Recovery, to Consider the course of your Life past, since you came to the Age of discretion, and see what hath been amiss in it; whether you have not neglected Religion, and the Duties of it too much, as Prayer, hearing the Word Preached, observing the Lords day, receiving the Sacrament; whether you have not been guilty of intemperance, excess of drinking, wantonness, uncleanness, idleness, mispending your time, and those supplies which have been allowed you for your maintenance; whether you have not too much delighted in vain and sinful, and disorderly Company, vanity and expence in Apparel: And if any such, or the like faults have been, repent of them, be sorry for them, resolve against them; and let the future course of your Life be amended in relation thereunto;

I have before told you, that your heavenly Father hath forgiven you, and I have forgiven you, neither do I mention these things to upbraid you for them, but that you upon the consideration of what hath been amiss, may be thereby the better enabled to rectify and set in order your future Life: If this be done and practised, I will reckon your late sickness and distemper one of the greatest blessings that ever beset you.

2. I would have you always keep a habit of the fear of God upon your heart; Consider his presence, order your Life as in his presence, Consider that he always sees you, beholds, and takes notice of you, and especially whether you carry your self answerable to this great deliverance, it is one of those Talents for which he will expect an Account from you.

3. I would have you frequently and thankfully consider of the great Love of God in Jesus Christ, whom he hath given to be the Instructor, and Governour, and Sacrifice for the sins of you and all Mankind, through whom upon Repentance you have assurance of the remission of your sins and eternal Life; and frequently consider how great an engagement this is upon you, and all Mankind, to live according to such a hope and such a mercy.

4. I would have you every morning read a portion of the Holy Scriptures, 'till you have read the Bible from the beginning to the end: Observe it well, read it reverently and attentively, set your heart upon it; and lay it up in your memory, and make it the direction of your life; it will make you a wise and a good man: I have been acquainted somewhat with Men and Books, and have had long experience in Learning, and in the World: There is no Book like the Bible for excellent Learning, Wisdom, and Use, and it is want of understanding in them, that think or speak otherwise.

5. Every morning and every evening, upon your knees with all reverence and attention of mind, return hearty thanks to God for his mercy to you, and particularly for this deliverance, desire his Grace to enable you to walk in some measure answerable to it, beg his Providence to protect you, his Grace to direct you, to keep you from evil Actions, and evil Persons, and evil occurrences, beg his pardon for your sin, and the continuance of his favour, always concluding with the Lords Prayer.

6. Observe conscionably the Lords day to keep it Holy, avoid idle Company, idle Discourse, Recreations, and secular employments upon that day; resort twice that day
to

to the publick Prayers and Sermon, come early to it, be attentive at it, keep your Eyes and Mind from roveing after vain thoughts or objects; and spend the rest of that day, that is free from necessary occasions, in Reading the Scriptures, or some good Books of Divinity.

† 7. Once ever Term at least come preparedly, and reverently to the Holy Communion, receive it with great reverence, and thankfulness, and due Consideration of the end of its institution: Renew your Covenant with Almighty God that you made in Baptism, and to live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly before him, and beg his Grace and Strength to perform it.

And as those directions before, do more specially relate to Almighty God, and your deportment immediately towards him; so these that follow, more especially relate to your self and others, and your moral Conversation: Therefore,

8. Be very moderate in Eating and Drinking, Drunkenness is the great vice of the time, and by Drunkenness I do mean not only gross Drunkenness, but also Tipling, Drinking excessively, and immoderately, or more than is convenient or necessary; avoid those Companies that are given to it, come not into those places that are devoted

to

to that beastly Vice, namely, Taverns and Alehouses, avoid and refuse those devices that are used to occasion it, as Drinking and Pledging of Healths: Be resolute against it, and when your resolution is once known, you will never be solicited to it: The *Rechabites* were Commanded by their Father not to drink Wine, and they obeyed it, and had a blessing for it; my Command to you is not so strict, I allow you the moderate use of Wine and strong Drink at your meals, I only forbid you the excess, or unnecessary use of it, and those Places and Companies, and Artifices that are Temptations to it.

9. Avoid Wanton and Lascivious Actions, Speeches and Company: Read *Proverbs* 2, 5, 6, 7. 9. A Whore hunts for the precious Life of a man, and that vice brings a ruine with it to the Body, Soul, and Estate: If you cannot Conveniently contain your self in a single Life, and be of Competent health, Marry, but with the Advise and Counsel of your Father, while he lives.

10. Be frugal of your time (it is one of the best Jewels we have) and to that end avoid Idleness, it consumes your time, and lays you open to worse inconveniences; let your Recreations be healthy, and Creditable, and Moderate, without too much expence of time, or money: Go not to Stage-plays, they
are

are a most profuse wasting of time; value time by that estimate we would have of it, when we want it, what would not a sick-man give for those portions of time of health, that he had formerly improvidently wasted?

11. Be diligent in your Study and Calling; it is an Act of duty to Almighty God that requires it, and it will be your wisdom and benefit; it will be a good expence of time, a prevention from a Thousand inconveniences and temptations, that otherwise will befall a man; it will furnish you with knowledge and understanding, give you the advantage and means of a comfortable and plentiful subsistence, and make you a support, comfort and benefit to your Friends and Country.

12. Be frugal in your expences, live within the Compass of that Exhibition, that Gods Providence and your Father's abilities shall supply you withall; it is enough to maintain an honest provident man, and ten times more will not be enough for a profuse mind: A frugal man will live Comfortably and Plentifully upon a little; and a profuse man will live beggerly, necessitously and in continual want, whatever his supplies be.

13. In all your expences consider before hand : Can I not be well enough without this that I am about to buy ? Is there an absolute necessity of it ? Can I not forbear 'till I am in a better Condition to compass it ? If I buy or borrow can I pay ? And when ? And am I sure ? will this expence hold out ? How shall I bring about the next Quarter, or the next year ? If young men would but have the patience to consider, and ask themselves Questions of the like nature, it would make them Considerate in their Expences and provident for the future ; and these Considerations will in a special manner concern you, in respect of your Fathers great Expences for you, which though I have forgiven, and forgotten ; I would have you remember with Gratitude and Caution.

14. The vanity of Young-men in loving fine Cloaths, and new Fashions, and valuing themselves by them, is one of the most Childish pieces of folly that can be, and the occasion of great profuseness and undoing of Young-men : Avoid curiosity and too much expensiveness in your Apparel : Let your Apparel be comely, plain, decent, cleanly not curious or costly ; it is the sign of a weak Head-piece, to be sick for every new Fashion, or to think himself the better in it, or the worse without it.

15. Be

15. Be careful what Company you consort with, and much more careful what persons you grow intimate with; chuse sober, wise, learned, honest, Religious Company, you will gain Learning and Wisdom, and improve your self in Virtue and Goodness, by conversing with them: But avoid debauched, foolish, intemperate, prodigal, atheistical, prophane Company, as you would avoid a Plague; they will Corrupt and undo you, they are a sort of the most pitiful fools in the World, and familiar acquaintance and conversation with them, will endanger to make you like them.

16. Weigh and consider your words before you speak them, and do not talk at random or at a venture; let your words be few, and to the purpose, be more ready to hear others than to speak your self; accustom your self to speak leisurely, and deliberately, it will be a means to make you speak warily and considerately.

17. Be very careful to speak truth, and beware of lying; as lying is displeasing to God, so it is offensive to man, and always at the latter end returns to the reproach or disadvantage of him that useth it; it is an evidence of a weak and unmanly mind. Be careful that you believe not hastily strange news, and strange stories, and be much more careful

careful that you do not report them, though at the second hand, for if it prove an untruth, (as commonly strange stories prove so) it brings an imputation of levity upon him that reports it, and possibly some disadvantage to others.

18. Take heed what you promise, see that it be just, and honest, and lawful; and what is in your power, honestly and certainly to perform: And when you have so promised, be true to your word. It is for the most part the fashion of inconsiderate and Young-men; (especially that run in debt) they will with great asseverations, promise precise payment, at this or that day; when either they certainly know they cannot perform, or at least have no probable assurance that they can do it; and when their turn is served, they are as backward in performance, as they were before liberal in their promises. Breach of promises and lying are much of a nature, and commonly go together, and are arguments of an impotent and unmanly mind.

19. Beware of Gaming, it is the suddenest Consumption of an Estate that can be, and that vice seldom goes alone; commonly debauchery of all kinds accompanies it: Besides it makes a man of a wild

vast and unsettled mind ; and such men are impatient of an honest Calling , or of moderate or honest gain.

20. Run not into debt either for Wares sold, or Money borrowed ; be content to want things that are not of absolute necessity, rather than to run upon the score ; such a man pays at the latter end a third part more than the Principal comes to, and is in perpetual servitude to his Creditors, lives uncomfortably, is necessitated to increase his debts, to stop his Creditors mouths, and many times falls into desperate Courses.

21. Be respectfull to all, familiar and intimate with few, be Grateful to your Benefactors, especially to those, who under God, were instrumental for your good, in your late sickness, and return your thanks to them ; to your Father that spared no cost for your Recovery, to your Doctor that was exceedingly diligent about you, to those that attended you in your sickness, to those that together with your Father often prayed to God for your Recovery, and for a blessing upon this Affliction, whose names you shall in due time particularly know. But above all, to Almighty God, who not only provided and blessed the means, but saved, and delivered you.

you above means, and when means failed.

22. Lastly, I shall conclude with one advice more, without the observance whereof my labour in writing this long Epistle will be probably fruitless: Be not wise in your own conceit, this is the unhappy error, and many times the ruine of Young-men especially: They are usually rash, giddy, and inconsiderate, and yet extremely confident of that which they have least reason to trust, namely their own understanding, which renders them most reserved from them that are willing and best able to advise them, impatient of reproof, love to be flattered, and so become incapable of good and wise Counsel, 'till their follies have reduced them to extream straits and inconveniences; suspect therefore your own judgment: Advise often with your Father, especially in all things of moment; be glad of his Counsel, and be Contented and willing to follow it, and to guide your Life according to it; at least 'till ripeness of Age, Observation, and Experience, have enabled you better to advise your self: This is an easie, and ready, and cheap way of attaining Wisdom, and avoiding of infinite inconveniences.

And thus I have in this long Epistle, given you the means how you may improve both your sickness, and recovery, to the Glory of God, and your own benefit.

I shall therefore Conclude with two Considerations, that may the more ingage you to this use of both these dispensations.

1. The danger is great, if Afflictions make not a man more humble and dutiful, and the danger is yet greater, if great deliverances and mercies do not make a man more thankful and obedient to God; because it is the most obliging method that the Gracious God can use towards the Children of men, for that end, in this Life: And the neglect of that invitation, adds Ingratitude and Contempt to the neglect of it.

2. The benefit that you will receive by making a good use of these two dispensations, in improving your dutifulness and obedience to God, will be singular and excellent: 1. It will make you a wise man, by making you a Good, and a Religious man: Believe it from your Father, who will not deceive you, nay, believe it from a greater than your Father, the very Spirit of
of

of truth, who cannot deceive you: the true fear of God, is the only true Wisdom: Read *Deut.* 4. 6. *Job* 28. 28. *Psal.* 111. 10. *Prov.* 1. 7. *Prov.* 9. 10. *Eccles.* 12. 13. and very many more declarations there are of this great truth: 2. It will make you a happy man, it will give you the Favour and Love of God, which is better than Life it self: You shall have his Mercy to pardon you, his Providence to protect you, his Wisdom to direct you, his Goodness to bless you, and to forgive, and forget whatsoever hath heretofore been done amiss by you: This will make all Conditions Comfortable to you, whether Life or Death, Sicknefs or Health: By this means you may be a Comfort to your Father, a support to your Brothers and Sisters, an Instrument of good to your Country, and attain an Honest, Credible, and Competent Subsistence in this World, and an everlasting inheritance of Glory and Immortality in the World to come. Thus I have given you a large Letter of sound and good Counsel: Set your heart to it, and observe and remember it: We see how unstable our Lives are, you nor I know not how soon, either or both of us may leave this World: It may be, this may be
the

the last paper of Advice that your Father may give you: But however it shall please God to deal with you or me, touching our continuance in this World, yet let me leave this with you, in the close of this Letter: If I shall find that these directions are dutifully observed, I shall be ready from time to time, freely to advise and direct you; and as I have passed by your former Extravagancies, so I shall thereby have great assurance, that God hath blessed this Visitation to you. But on the other side, if I shall find that you neglect my Counsels, that you make light of them, that you still pursue those Courses that will certainly be bitterness in the end, I must then tell you, I shall pray for you, and be sorry for you with my heart; but I shall not easily be perswaded to give any more Advices or Counsels, where I find them despised or neglected. In this paper there are many things omitted, which might have been inserted; but the constant Reading of the Holy Scriptures will supply unto you that defect: I have chosen only in this paper to mention such things which are seasonable for you upon this occasion. God Almighty hath not been wanting to you in Admonition, Correction,

to One of his Sons.

37

rection, Mercy, and Deliverance; neither
hath your Father been wanting to you in
Education, Counsel, Care, and Expence:
I pray God Almighty bless all unto you.
This is the Prayer of,

Your Loving Father,

MATTHEW HALE.

be

F I N I S.
